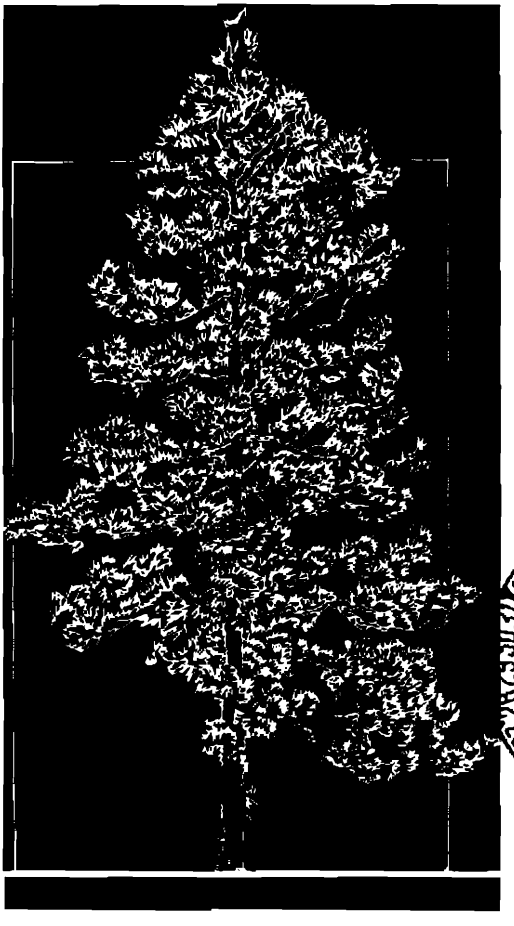
East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 35 | Issue 2 Article 1

10-1997

ETHJ Vol-35 No-2

VOLUME XXXV 1997 NUMBER 2



EAST TEXAS
HISTORICAL JOURNAL

P.O. Box 6223
Stephen F. Austin State University
Nacogdoches, TX 75962
409–468-2407

XXXV – No. 2 – East Texas Historical Association

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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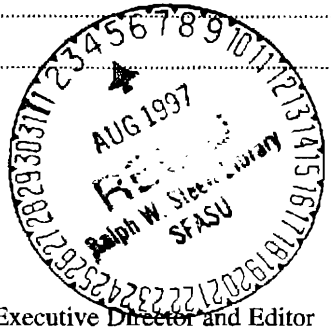

Archie P. McDonald, Executive Director and Editor
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 6223
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962
409–468-2407

BOOKS REVIEWED

SAWMILLS AND MILL TOWN OF THE LaNANA BAYOU, NACOGDOCHES COUNTY, TEXAS 1834 TO 1910

by Melvin C. Johnson

Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumber Industry, 1830-1840, by historians Robert S. Maxwell of Stephen F. Austin State University and Robert D. Baker of Texas A&M University, initiated a new academic effort in revealing the East Texas material and social culture and its logging, tram roading, and milling industries.[1] Regional forest and mill historians such as W.T. Block[2] and Thad Sitton[3] are patiently sifting the archives of universities, forgotten lumber companies, and county courthouses, interviewing participants wherever possible, and combing the lumber journals and newspapers of the era. More than 4,000 sawmill sites, many with company-provided mill towns, have been operated by more than 10,000 lumber companies in East Texas since 1830. After 1877, these companies operated more than 300 steam logging tram road operations over thousands of miles of rails to harvest and transport the "green gold" of the sawtimber to the mills.[4]

With the expansion of the main trunkline railroads into the virgin pineries, the lumber industry dominated the Texas commercial world from 1880 to 1918 and has been prominent ever since. In the South, Texas led all Southern states in total yellow pine cut from 1869 to 1903. From 1903 to 1930, it ranked fourth.[5] In 1907, it was estimated that Texas ranked third among all states in the nation in lumber production. In the decade from 1907 to 1916, Texas averaged the manufacture of 1.75 billion board feet per year.[6] As a result, an overwhelming number of communities and county transportation networks in the Texas piney woods evolved directly from the material structure of the Texas lumber culture.

Nacogdoches County, located in central East Texas, entered the booming Texas world of lumber when the first railroad, the Houston East & West Texas, crossed the Angelina River near Spradley Ferry in 1880. The coming of the Houston East & West Texas to Nacogdoches brought great economic opportunity to the community and its citizens. Personal feelings delayed the completion of the rails into the city for two years. A Mr. Davidson, according to W. Frank Summers, refused to let the tracks be built across his pasture. The railroad finally secured an order of the court and the track was built. When the first locomotive came puffing across the pasture, Davidson laid down on the tracks in front of the engine and "was physically removed by the conductor and trainmen who then put him back after the train had passed."[7] The Texas & New Orleans, a subsidiary of Southern Pacific, crossed the Angelina River in 1900 into Nacogdoches County, about three miles to the east of the Houston East & West Texas, without incident.[8]

The tracks of the two railroads formed the narrowing arms of an irregularly-shaped triangle with Nacogdoches at the apex and the Angelina

Melvin C. Johnson formerly worked for the Texas Forestry Museum in Lufkin, Texas. He resides in Layton, Utah.

River as the base. In this region is the LaNana Bayou, flanked west and east by LaNana Creek and Dorr Creek, rich in thousands of acres of Southern yellow pine and creeks, streams, and bayous flowing south to the Angelina River. Of more than thirty mill towns established in the county from 1880 to 1910, some rivaling in size the county seat of Nacogdoches,[9] the first were built along the tributaries of the LaNana Bayou. Beside the Houston East & West Texas were found Lola, LaNana Mills, Decoy, Lingo, Press, and Long Leaf, while Poe, Lacyville, Keith's Spur, La Cerda Station, Vim, Tubbe's Mill, Clevenger's Mill, and Royal either were established or moved to the tracks of the Texas & New Orleans. None survive today; all are ghost towns, and little in terms of physical artifacts remain. In 1900, hundreds had come, along with their families, to the mill towns of the Bayou to work on the railroads, logging crews, tram roads, and in the mills.

A small water-powered sawmill manufactured lumber and milled corn in the LaNana Bayou before the founding of the Republic of Texas. In 1834, Peter Ellis Bean, joined by Frost Thorn, moved their sawmill and grist mill from Carrizo Creek, east of Nacogdoches, to the Bayou. Civil suits for recovery of money instituted by Bean against Colonel Jose de las Piedras noted that the mill made lumber, scantling, boards, planks, and other building materials. Local entrepreneurs Haden Edwards and James Carter bought the Bean-Thorn mill situated on a league and fifty acres of land in June 1836, two months after the Battle of San Jacinto. The purchase price was $1,600.[10]

The area between LaNana Creek to the west and Dorr Creek to the east became a traditional lumber, grist, and cotton milling site from the 1840s to the 1880s. In 1853, with the transfer of the former Carter-Edwards mill from Frederick Voigt to William J.M. Towson, the term "LaNana Mills" first appears in county history.[11] The probate record of Charles Smith, filed in September 1882, notes that the firm of Blake & Muckelroy sold the mills to Charles Smith and a Mr. Hardeman. The latter two moved it east to Dorr Creek and the Marion Road. Bennett Blake and William Clark bought the deteriorating machinery and 191 acres from Hardeman and Smith for $116.[12]

The company town of LaNana Mills began to take shape in 1890. W. Vestal Carroway bought the remaining equipment of the mills and moved it back to its traditional location to the west. He added steam machinery to the grist-mill and cotton-gin operations as well as new sawmill equipment, and began supplying ties and timbers to the Houston East & West Texas. County records noted that Carroway's operation included steam engines and boilers, seven wagons, sixty oxen, and twenty "cabins" for tenant housing. The little community became the home of several hundred lumber workers and their families. In 1893, the mill was sawing 20,000 board feet of lumber daily. In October 1893, W.V. Carroway leased his LaNana Lumber Company for twenty years to Petrie Lumber Company. The lease included the entire plant located on LaNana Bayou about eight miles southeast of Nacogdoches. The company town included the larger community of LaNana Mills. It had a school, in which a joint church also met, and company-owned commissaries provided dry goods and canned goods. Carroway's LaNana Mills Company

was reorganized as the LaNana Lumber Company and the community was renamed Lola (a name that lasted only a few years) to distinguish it from the mills. The community expanded to include more than thirty cabins and fifteen houses, sheds, the sawmill plant, and tram roads. Because the mill had burned down previously, Petrie Lumber contracted to rebuild the sawmill so that it could produce 30,000 feet of lumber daily.[13]

Other sawmill companies were drawn to the LaNana milling community from 1890 to 1906, including the Bermea Land & Lumber Company,[14] the Blakely & Simpson operation that produced beading and flooring,[15] and the major plant of William G. Harrington.[16] A prominent mill man from Nacogdoches County, Robert Howard Lee, owned and managed two sawmills located to the south of LaNana Mills, the Garna mill (also known as Garner's Switch) next to the tracks of the Houston East & West Texas, and a second mill at Long Leaf, located about two and a miles to the east of the tracks. Lee's mills were supported by a planer at the Long Leaf mill. Logging was done with a tram road, sixteen logging cars, two log wagons, and twelve oxen.[17]

By 1900, the end was drawing near for the community of LaNana Mills. The mill and entire company town was dismantled and moved to Clawson, in Angelina County. *The Daily Sentinel* reported that E.B. Cushing, general manager of the Houston East & West Texas, and a Judge Feagan appraised the value of the bankrupt LaNana Lumber Company in January 1900 at $3,283.00. The tram network of iron rails was moved to Clawson via Nacogdoches, where it was weighed before being sent south. Another Nacogdoches newspaper noted in April that "The big saw mill and all of the houses will soon be gone from LaNana. There are 45 to 50 houses still to come down." Dr. A.M. Hooper of LaNana Mills closed the deal with Colonel B.S. Wettermark later that month.[18] The post office closed in the summer of 1901.[19]

LaNana Mills celebrated a brief revival when the community was renamed Decoy the following year, and the post office was reopened. A Mexican-American community of families moved in to work in the logging crews supplying other sawmills in the area. Disaster soon struck; Dr. A. M. Hooper of LaNana reported a dozen cases of small pox at and near the residence of Eusebio Micheli. Jackson Parrott ran a stave operation in the summer and fall of 1903, cutting timber in the Angelina River bottom. He reported he was putting every team to work that showed up. Owners of mule teams were paid $4.00 to $6.00 a day for hauling staves.[20]

William G. Harrington, in 1904, erected a major plant almost three times the size of the Carroway mill near the site of the old Bermea Land and Lumber mill, which had closed eight years earlier. With a daily manufacturing capacity of 40,000 board feet, the new mill, according to the Beaumont *Journal*, was "considered the largest and the best mill in the county." Harrington logged his pineries with a tram road, transporting the sawtimber to his mill, where it was cut and shipped to Nacogdoches to his planer in the old Davidson pasture near the site of an abandoned R.H. Lee sawmill. Harrington appeared in the January 1905 issue of the Lumbermen's Credit Association's reference book with a

rating as a "slow pay[er]." The following month, the *American Lumberman* reported that Harrington had "sold out his lumber business at Nacogdoches" and would "move to Dallas." He sold his planing mill to W. T. Wilson in the spring of 1905. The post office closed again at LaNana Mills, and the community died forever.[21]

A final note about W.V. Carroway, the one-time owner of LaNana Mills, should be included. After abandoning the mills, he settled first in Belton and then went to Dumas in the panhandle of Texas, where he worked for the J.I. Campbell Lumber Company. *The Weekly Sentinel* noted his death on June 11, 1902. Sarah Inez Carroway, his wife, in April 1902, fortified Vestal's heart tonic with strychnine. She pleaded guilty, was convicted, and received a sentence of life in prison.[22]

Joe Clevenger was a rival of Carroway and other Nacogdoches County sawmillers such as George Cavin, A.J. Caricker, A.B. Martindale, William Fleming Daniel, and J.H. Summers. Clevenger built three mill communities in the county, all of which have become ghost towns. Clevenger, although a stockmen and ginner, had been transacting timber business since 1888[23] and continued to do so for another twenty-four years. He was a man of reputation. He, too, would be involved with the springs of murder.

At the time of Carroway's death, the mill towns of Clevenger's Mill and Vim to the east of LaNana Mills were busy. Joe P. Clevenger built his first sawmill in 1897. Located west of Nacogdoches at a site to the north of Durst Road and east of Moral Bayou,[24] the logging crews cut out the timber within two years. Clevenger sold his plant to the Galloway & Wright Lumber Company, which ran a large planing mill on what is now Old Tyler Road in Nacogdoches,[25] and set up a small mill to the east of Nacogdoches. There, too, he cut down all the standing timber and moved on to what the newspaper called "tall timber." In February 1901, Clevenger sold his lumber at his mill yard to C.C. Galloway and dismantled his machinery for a move to the LaNana Bayou along the tracks of the new Texas & New Orleans. Early the next month, the citizens of Nacogdoches turned out to watch the large mill equipment pass through town to its final home on Dorr Creek.[26]

The fact that Clevenger had landed a large contract to provide the Texas & New Orleans with crossties impressed on him the fact that he could make more money by having easy access to the railroad, which he had not been able to do at his earlier sites. A rail switch had been constructed before the move, and a station was planned along with the establishment of a post office and a commissary. James Heath of Timpson erected the sawmill. Frank Danson was the commissary's first manager and mill bookkeeper, and John M. Green, a former bartender at the Hollow Log Saloon, and M.P. Hale succeeded Danson in the positions of commissary manager and postmaster.[27]

Clevenger's Mill was located just north of Dorr Creek Road and just east from where the bridge crosses the creek. During the next few years, Clevenger expanded the milling capacity of the plant. B.M. Hickman, the manager, directed operations that consisted of the tram road, a 100-horsepower steam

engine, the sawmill, the planing mill, and dry kilns. G.A. Dyer, the mill manager, assisted by mill engineer B.J. Sisson, turned timber into 25,000 board feet of lumber daily in 1903. Eventually the mill cut 75,000 feet per day. Because of the demand for lumber, Clevenger supplemented his steam-powered kilns for drying the lumber with the far more dangerous Arkansas smoke kilns, which used an open fire, with a watchman, to dry squarely stacked lumber piles. Clevenger began logging at nearby Royal much as he had before, with mules and men, placing an ad for teamsters to haul logs at the logging front. G.L. Watts served as the woods boss, a position sometimes known as "the bull of the woods." The teamsters earned $1.50 per day if they worked a week.[28]

Some of Clevenger's timberland was located more than a mile to the west of the mill. So he maximized his logging effort by building his own tram road to the timber. Before he was through, Clevenger's tram line stretched more than three miles, and over it ran a geared locomotive pulling fifteen logging cars. Engineer Cal Hawks could not make the small locomotive move more than fifteen miles per hour, but the geared construction of the transmission permitted its tractive power to be controlled and increased so that the train could follow sharp curves through the forest. Logging cars were towed to the mill dock skidway where timber was rolled down into the log pond for storage.[29]

Clevenger's Mill had a sizable company town for its day, consisting of the company store, invariably known as the commissary, forty tenant houses, a school house, church, and post office. The establishment of the post office was a major event for the folks in the area as well as for mill-town residents. Until the establishment of the post office, people had to travel several miles to pick up their mail. Clevenger's Mill had received its post office in 1902 at the same time as Decoy, formerly LaNana, located a few miles west over on the line of the Houston East & West Texas, and Mahl, north of the county seat. Whites and blacks were segregated in housing as well as all social and cultural activities. Each race had its own buildings for education and religious activities. The mill provided medical services, first from a Dr. Barham, then later a Dr. Castlebarry.[30]

Clevenger's Mill attracted attention beyond the county. The *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review* noted in 1904 "the busy little mill of Joe P. Clevenger" with a daily capacity of 50,000 feet of lumber. Timber holdings were located on both sides of the railroad, but Clevenger at first cut only to the west. His sixty men remained busy even though the market was not as strong as it had been the previous year. Timber holdings were expected to last for at least five years. Since the area was surrounded with good livestock pasture and farming areas, the trade journal predicted that the community would survive after the timber had been cut out.[31]

The citizens of Clevenger's Mill had their problems, as do all communities. *The Weekly Sentinel* noted that Kid Finley, described as a "little yellow negro," came to Clevenger's Mill with a woman of his race and found

work. Several days later Finley and the woman quarreled, and Finley shot her in the foot and left the area hurriedly. The woman was not injured seriously.[32] A suspicious homicide at the Mill involved an African American named Pat, who died from a gunshot to the head. The newspaper continued, "The killing was either accidental or suicide, as the fatal shot was fired from a 44 pistol in the hands of the victim. The report of a pistol was heard, and upon investigation the negro was found dead with the pistol in his hand. It will never be known whether the negro's death was a suicide or an accident."[33] On another occasion, Clevenger was angered at some hooliganism having to do with the school house. "Joe Clevenger," noted the paper, "came up from the mill this morning and says there is no excitement there at present, but ... He is indignant over the cowardly acts of some miscreants who shot the Palestin [sic] school house into a honey comb Saturday night."[34]

Joe Clevenger also was involved with killing. George W. Clevenger, his brother, was killed as an innocent bystander during a Nacogdoches street brawl near the present-day city offices. Dick Crain and Frank Roquemore, who had a long-standing feud, shot it out with shotguns near Slay Brothers saloon and Oggs' livery stable. Crain was wounded in the mouth and in one arm. Five buck shot struck George W. Clevenger while he was crossing the street. He bled to death on the sidewalk. Later that fall Joe Clevenger was charged with the murder of one of the men he believed was responsible for his brother's death. Although he was indicted for murder, the state dismissed the case, according to a newspaper report, "on the ground that there was not sufficient evidence to convict."[35]

The prediction of the *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review* that Clevenger's Mill would survive as a community proved false. The mill burned in 1910 at a time when the timber was almost cut out, a fact some suspicious souls may have linked to the fire. Clevenger did not rebuild the mill. Clevenger instead left sawmilling forever. By the following year, Clevenger renewed a lease with Claude Linthicum for almost 2,000 acres west of the tracks on which Linthicum was running livestock.[36]

The sawmill community of Vim, located a mile from Clevenger's Mill, was the creation of T.W. Jeanes and several of his relatives. The Jeanes (sometimes spelled "Jeans" in various county records and journals) were a kin-group of sawmilling families with a history of operating lumber plants in the counties of Nacogdoches, Angelina, San Augustine, and Sabine.[37] T.W. Jeanes had farmed and operated a steam sawmill on 1,000 acres located on Pelost Creek, about two and a half miles west of Chireno, since 1896. He decided in 1899 to capitalize on the arrival of the Texas & New Orleans in Nacogdoches County. Once the railroad crossed the Angelina River, the virgin pineries of the eastern portion of the LaNana Bayou offered good opportunities for the bold timber entrepreneur. Jeanes sold his land and moved the sawmill and its machinery more than a dozen miles southwest to the tracks of the new railroad to land belonging to a family named Dorman. His equipment included a 30-horsepower boiler that ran a 25-horsepower, 10-inch by 14-inch, steam engine.[38]

Two years of hard work followed. By 1902, Tom and Will Jeanes, along with Joe Burnaman, had begun to build a new and larger sawmill nearby on the Marion Ferry's road. They also built a mill town for their workers. The Jeanes appropriately named their new community Vim, from the term "Vim and Vinegar." Vim was a typical East Texas mill town. Family oriented, the town had a commissary, about twenty-five tenant houses rented to the workers, and segregated schools for black and white students. Like all East Texas mill towns, Vim had its share of events: Constable Doc Watson arrested Lee Mullens at the mill for assault to murder; Joe Allen trapped himself in the mill belting and suffered severe injury; and Andy Lewis, an African American, reported a newspaper, "badly mashed" his hand "while loading crossties on a car. A heavy tie fell on his hand[,] crushing the bones and injuring the member so that amputation may be necessary."[39]

Vim also had a particularly gruesome incident. The Nacogdoches newspaper reported "a sensational find" by Tom Jeanes during the late winter of 1902. While he was walking through the woods near the Dorman home and examining the timber, Jeanes noticed a buzzard flying out of a hollow stump. Believing he would find the scavenger's lair, Jeanes looked in the stump and "to his horror ... discovered instead of a nest of eggs a baby skeleton ... ." [40] It was a terrible, ghastly mystery never solved.

Toward the end of 1902, business improved for the Jeanes when they contracted with the Turner-Nabors Lumber Company of Beaumont, a major planing mill company, to supply the entire sawmill cut of Jeanes Mill to Turner-Nabors. Although neither the Jeanes nor their workers realized it, the end of Vim was near; within a year Turner-Nabors owned the mill. The Jeanes Brothers had to install a dry kiln as part of their contract requirements, had trouble financing the cost with George W. Collier, and were unable to complete the deal. They had to sell the mill to Turner-Nabors later that month.[41]

Located along the tracks of the Texas & New Orleans, to which it was connected with approximately 500 feet of spur and sidings, the plant included the sawmill with equipment such as a cut off saw, an edger, three 56-inch saws and a 24-foot Henderson trimmer; a planing mill; a log hauler rig and car; a slab car; and all belting, shafting, and pulleys for operating the mills. The operation was powered by a 45-horsepower boiler that ran two steam engines, one 12-inch by 15-inch and the second 10-inch by 16-inch, indicating the sawmill could manufacture at least 20,000 board feet daily. Logging equipment included two mules, forty oxen, and six wagons.[42]

Hard times soon came to the folks of Vim. *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review,* in June 1904, noted that the Turner-Nabers plant in Nacogdoches County had been closed for some time and was in the hands of a receiver.[43] The owners managed to recover control and dismantled the mill, moving it to Beaumont, where it continued operating until at least 1910.[44] Once the sawmill and its machinery departed, Vim faded away, its folk moving to other nearby mill towns at Clevenger, Tubbe, Press, and Lacyville. No ruins of Vim remain today.

The history of LaNana Mills, Vim, and Clevenger's Mill is the history of the other mill towns of the Bayou. When the timber was gone, the mills and their towns no longer had a reason to exist. The last of the company towns, Lacyville, closed in 1948.[45] The tram road rails were pulled up or left to rust in the rain, and the mill workers and their families moved away to other places in search of work. The Texas & New Orleans eventually stopped running trains over the Angelina River north to Nacogdoches. The whistle has not announced the end of another day at these old mill towns in almost fifty years. Where once the shrieks shrilled from Shay and Bell-Porter locomotives announcing another in-bound logging train, one now hears only the cry of the egret floating on the evening wind.

NOTES

[1]Robert S. Maxwell and Robert D. Baker, *Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumber Industry, 1830-1840* (College Station, 1983). This book, based on the records of major lumber companies and many oral interviews with leading prominent personalities in the field, has been the starting point for a rich field of spatial-temporal history.

[2]Block's three-volume series, published by a grant from The Piney Woods Foundation of Lufkin, Texas, is a county-by-county narrative history of the East Texas sawmill world. See W.T. Block, *East Texas Mill Towns & Ghost Towns* 3 volumes (Lufkin, 1994 to 1996).

[3]Sitton details the East Texas river-bottom material and social culture of timbermen, loggers, fishermen, trappers, hunters, and stockmen. See Thad Sitton, *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley* (Norman and London, 1995).

[4]The Texas Forestry Museum of Lufkin, Texas, maintains a continuing, computer-generated East Texas Sawmill Data Base Project, an exciting effort involving the historical deconstruction of the East Texas sawmill period. The Project has received state and national awards. Notes from these data bases will be cited from the ETSMDB.

[5]"Fifty Years in the Southern Pine Industry," *Southern Lumberman*, December 15, 1931; *The Texas Almanac* (Galveston, 1904), p. 145.

[6]Maxwell and Baker, *Sawdust Empire*, p. 160.

[7]W. Frank Summers Oral History Interview with Robert S. Maxwell, in East Texas Lumber Industry Project, 1954-1957, Oral History Interviews, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas.

[8]Nacogdoches *The Daily Sentinel* reported on January 18, 1900, that the tracks had reached Tubbe's Mill, about nine miles southeast of Nacogdoches.

[9]See "Attoyac River Lumber Company," Mayotown, ETSMDB.

[10]Phil L. Sanders, "Early East Texas Saw Mills," *East Texas* 6 (July 1946), p. 6; "Sawmilling: Lumbermen Are A Special Breed," *The Gulf Coast Lumberman* (November 1963), pp. 18-19; Nacogdoches County Deed Records, Vol. B: June 28, 1836, p. 210.

[11]Nacogdoches County Deed Records, Vol. J: November 10, 1853, p. 10.

[12]Nacogdoches County Probate Book, Vol. K, #468, Charles Smith, p. 38.

[13]Nacogdoches County Deed Records, Vol. 28: March 16, 1891, p. 240, Vol. 29: October 28, 1891, p. 227, and Vol. 31: October 24, 1893, p. 51; "Timbered Texas," (Galveston) *Weekly News*, April 13, 1893.

[14]Nacogdoches County Deed of Trust, Vol. 2: May 18, 1898, p. 349, March 11, 1899, p. 367, and January 10, 1899, pp. 349, 351; Nacogdoches County Deed Record: Vol. 36, January 10, 1899, p. 403; Nacogdoches *The Daily Sentinel*, January 18, 1900; Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel*, March 27, 1901, p. 6; and Beaumont *Journal*, May 14, 1905 and July 29, 1905.

[15]The Nacogdoches *News*, October 16, 1884.

[16]Nacogdoches County Contract Records, Vol. 2: April 9, 1903, p. 36; Beaumont *Journal,* July 29, 1905; "Lumber Mills of Texas," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review,* September 6, 1906, p. 27; and *American Lumberman,* February 18, 1905.

[17]Nacogdoches County Deed of Trust, Vol. 2: November 17, 1894, p. 13. R.H. Lee owned sawmills at Lola/LaNana, Nacogdoches, Fitzie Hill, and Garrison in Nacogdoches County from 1890 to 1908. See R.H. Lee entries at these sites in ETSMDB.

[18]Nacogdoches *The Daily Sentinel,* February 1, 1900, March 8, 1900, and April 19, 1900.

[19]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* April 1, 1900 and July 3, 1901.

[20]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* January 22, 1902, February 26, 1902, August 5, 1903, and September 2, 1903.

[21]Beaumont *Journal,* May 14, 1904 and July 29, 1905; *American Lumberman,* February 18, 1905; *Reference Book of the Lumbermen's Credit Association, January 1905* (Chicago, 1905), p. 37; Nacogdoches County Contract Records: Vol. 2: April 9, 1903, p. 36, and April 23, 1903, p. 38.

[22]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* June 11, 1902.

[23]Nacogdoches County Deed Records Vol. Y: June 27, 1888, p. 443.

[24]Nacogdoches County Deed Records: Vol. 73: August 24, 1910.

[25]Nacogdoches *The Daily Sentinel,* April 26, 1900.

[26]Nacogdoches *The Daily Sentinel,* March 29, 1900 and April 26, 1900: Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* February 27, 1901 and March 6, 1901; Nacogdoches County Deed Records, Vol. 54: September 19, 1904, p. 96, and Vol. 58: January 11, 1905, p. 62.

[27]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* February 27, 1901; March 20, 1901; January 1, 1902.

[28]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* May 10, 1900.

[29]Beaumont *Enterprise,* February 26, 1905; *American Lumberman Industrial Statistics List of Steam Logging Roads* (Chicago, 1906), p. 314; "Clevenger, J.P.," *Logging and Short Line Railroads of East Texas,* compiled by R. W. Keeling (Bellflower, California, n.d.).

[30]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* July 3, 1901: January 22, 1902; April 15, 1903.

[31]*Southern Industrial and Lumber Review,* "From Beaumont to Nacogdoches: Growth of Towns Along The T & NO Extension," June 1904, pp. 24-25.

[32]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* March 5, 1902.

[33]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* December 17, 1902

[34]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* May 14, 1902.

[35]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* September 10, 1902; October 1, 1902; October 22, 1902, p. 4.

[36]Nacogdoches County Deed Records, Vol. 66: October 2, 1911, p. 17; *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review,* "From Beaumont to Nacogdoches: Growth of Towns Along The T & NO Extension," June 1904, pp. 24-26.

[37]See entries under "Jeans" and "Jeanes" in the ETSMDB.

[38]Nacogdoches County Deed Record, Vol. 33: October 10, 1896, p. 634; Vol. 38: May 6, 1899, p. 17, and November 8, 1899, pp. 526, 553.

[39]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* March 12, 1902; November 12, 1902; April 29, 1903.

[40]Nacogdoches *The Weekly Sentinel,* March 19, 1902.

[41]Nacogdoches County Contract Records, Vol. 2: December 15, 1902, p. 15; and Vol. 2: December 16, 1902, p. 14; Nacogdoches County Deed of Trust, Vol. 4: August 14, 1903.

[42]Nacogdoches County Deed of Trust, Vol. 4: August 14, 1903.

[43]"From Beaumont to Nacogdoches: Growth Of Towns Along The T. & N. O. Extension," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review,* June 1904, p. 4.

[44]"Turner-Nabers Lumber Company," ETSMDB.

[45]"Tilford-Hunt Lumber Company," ETSMDB.

YEARS OF TRANSITION: THE TEXAS INDIAN QUESTION, 1848-1853

by R. Blake Dunnavent

The Indian problem in Texas went through many turbulent years but none were as crucial as the years between 1848 and 1853, a period of trial and error in the young state. The War with Mexico had ended and provisions emerged for protecting Mexico's borders from Indians. In addition, the old Republic's laws and treaties changed and the U.S. Army posted troops in the state. Subsequent problems arose between the Texas and United States governments regarding Indian policy, which eventually led to the failure of the state government to regulate the Indians and forced it to accept federal Indian reservations reluctantly. This article will determine what lessons state and federal authorities learned during this era.[1]

The Indian issue, in the 1840s and into the 1850s, was a growing concern to the United States, especially to those pioneers living on the frontier. The close proximity of whites to Indians created conflict which dominated frontier settlements, especially in Texas. Immediately following annexation, Texans, who were tormented by Indian attacks,[2] demanded assistance from the federal government. To better understand the problems associated with the Indians in Texas, however, requires a brief review of the young state's days as a Republic and some of its established Indian policies.

Sam Houston, the first President of Texas, wished to implement an Indian pacification policy. He stated that "the relations with the Indians be placed upon a basis of lasting peace and friendship."[3] Despite his peaceful overtures, Houston, to contend with the numerous depredations committed by the Indians, summoned the first mounted volunteers. Houston's hopes for peace faded during President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar's administration. Under Lamar's guidance, Texas waged war on various Indian tribes within her boundaries. Lamar, an expansionist, succeeded in driving out most of the Cherokee Indians. On November 26, 1838, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Texas to the United States, Anson Jones, wrote to United States Secretary of State John Forsyth to request that the United States forcibly remove intruding Indians who did not reside in Texas and were the responsibility of the United States outside of the Republic. Jones hoped that this would benefit both the people of Texas and the Indians.[4] Although it received little attention in Washington, the proposal influenced future Indian policy.

In 1841, when he began his second term as president, Houston again attempted peaceful relations with the Indians. He established several new positions, including superintendent of Indian Affairs, agents to the tribes, commissioners to establish treaties, and licensed trading houses. Anson Jones, elected president in 1844, also attempted friendly relations with the Indians. He wanted his policy to be humane, fairly inexpensive, appropriate to both whites and Indians, and adequate to protect the frontier.[5] One year later, the

R. Blake Dunnavent teaches at Lubbock Christian University.

United States admitted Texas into the Union. The Joint Resolution of Annexation stated, in part, that Texas "shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits ... to be disposed of as said State may direct."[6] This singular clause, granting Texas the right to retain possession of her public lands, caused many problems over the next few years.

While the United States fought the Mexican War, Indian problems in Texas were not a primary concern for the federal government. In 1847, Governor J.P. Henderson reinstated a law which Houston had established concerning white expansion into Indian lands. It stated that no Anglos could cross a designated "temporary line about thirty miles"[7] beyond the farthest settlements. This policy failed when a large number of white settlers continued to flow into the unsettled land west of the frontier. The apparent lack of federal interest changed quickly following the cessation of hostilities with Mexico. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo contained an article concerning Indian policy. Article XI resolved that Indians who previously had resided in Mexican territory ceded to the United States would become the responsibility of the American government. The Article also stated that property stolen by the Indians should not be purchased and declared that any captives located in either country's territory would be returned to their respective governments.[8] In reality not enough troops existed in America to enforce this act.

Once U.S. military forces returned from Mexico, Congress authorized the posting of troops in Texas to guard the frontier. In September 1848, Major General D.E. Twiggs assumed command of the First Infantry, Second Dragoons, and six companies of the Third Infantry which were assigned to Texas, now designated the Eighth Military Department of the Western Division of the Army.[9] These troops had resided at their assigned locations for nearly three months when William Medill, Indian commissioner of the United States, asserted his position on Indian concentration, referring to it as Indian colonization. During his presentation to Congress in November 1848, Medill certified that "whites" were a superior race and with them brought all the advantages of an advanced culture. He wished "this sad and depressing tendency of things [Indian problems] be checked, and the past be at least measurably repaired by better results in the future."[10] Medill wanted a safe, just, and tolerable policy for everyone. He hoped to colonize the American Indian beyond the white man within small portions of the country so "as the game decrease[d] and bec[a]me scarce, the adults w[ould] gradually be compelled to agriculture and other kinds of labor to obtain a subsistence."[11] As for Texas, Medill sent Major Robert S. Neighbors as special agent to deal with the existing Indian problem.

Neighbors' duties, as outlined by Medill, included presenting the United States as friendly, to engage in discussions with the Indians, and keep the whites away from them if possible. As stated previously, the Texas government did not acknowledge the Indians' right to the land. So, on March 2, 1848, Neighbors wrote to Medill describing the situation in Texas. He said that because of special problems relating to the lack of land rights, the Indian country in Texas remained open to settlement and visitation. Besides Neigh-

bors being placed in direct contact with the Indian populations, the U.S. Army established permanent posts in Texas at strategic positions along the frontier.[12] Finally, late in the year, the Texas legislature requested that the "Indian agents and commanders of troops [U.S. Army] confer with the Government of Texas so they could work jointly to protect the citizens and keep relations with friendly Indians."[13]

Early in 1849, Major Neighbors estimated the total number of Indians in Texas at 29,575, including 5,915 warriors. These Indians included such groups as the Comanche and the Mescalero. With this large population of Indians living close to settlers, Texans' hopes flourished because of the federal investment of U.S. military forces which patrolled the frontier. Brigadier General William S. Harney, temporary commander at Eighth Department headquarters in San Antonio, issued General Order Number 28 on May 25, which stipulated that if the Indians continued to attack whites within the limits of the military outposts the Army would take harsh measures. To back this statement, a U.S. military buildup began in 1849. Colonel J.W. Worth, placed in command of the Texas regiments, arrived in Texas following a cholera outbreak and, unfortunately, Worth succumbed to the disease. His replacement was Brigadier General George Mercer Brooke. Before he arrived, John Conner, a Delaware chief employed by the United States, reported that an Indian chief and a band of braves had left their encampment to attack white settlers and had stolen numerous horses and other riding animals. Conner, because of this and other Indian-related incidents, believed that many of the Indian tribes in Texas were making preparations for war.[14]

Upon his arrival in Texas, Brooke received orders from the secretary of war informing him that if the standing troops proved inadequate to control the Indians, Brooke had authorization to ask Governor George T. Wood for volunteers. Brooke certified to Washington that all the posts in Texas would be placed on guard and that if necessary he would call out more troops. In August, three companies of Rangers were mustered for a six-month tour of duty. The Rangers brought their own horses, saddles, and weapons. Brooke decided, however, that to place the Rangers on their own and in direct contact with Indians might initiate an indiscriminate war. He claimed that the mustering of the Rangers had inspired the population to request even more Rangers. Despite his apprehensions of the Rangers' motives and their popularity, Brooke believed that they were better suited for Indian warfare than any troops in the Army.[15]

The same year the Mexican government took steps against the Indians because of the United States' lack of protection which had been guaranteed in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. To accomplish its goals the Mexican government employed questionable means. It hired Americans, who received $5 to $50 dollars for every Indian scalp taken, to annihilate the marauding Indians. This outraged the Indians and caused numerous deaths to whites. The policy's primary fault centered on the scalp hunters who did not distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians, consequently they killed many friendly

Indians. This policy was not the last attempt by the Mexican government to quell the tide of depredations.[16]

Texas citizens became increasingly distraught with the Indian situation. By the end of 1849, 200 people had been killed or captured by hostile Indians.[17] Governor-elect Peter Hansborough Bell presented the crisis before the Texas legislature. He argued that the defense of the frontier should be paramount in the minds of the legislature. Bell followed with complaints about how the United States government was handling the situation. He announced that when Texas was admitted into the Union the federal government accepted the "moral, legal and constitutional [obligation] to defend the citizens of our State against the Indian attacks and outrages."[18] Bell described what he considered an improper force to deal with the Indians; specifically, he noted that in 1849 infantry not cavalry composed the bulk of the U.S. military presence. Bell closed this section of his speech by asking the legislature to adopt measures that would allow him to cope with all problems that might arise on the frontier.[19] Bell's antagonistic attitude, along with that of many of his compatriots, demonstrates the difficulties which increased every year between the Texas and United States governments. In 1850 this attitude became even more prevalent as Texas Rangers and U.S. soldiers began working together.

Early in 1850, Indian troubles escalated all along the frontier and settlers pleaded for help. In January 1850, Bell once again went to the legislature. He declared that the people of the frontier had sought state protection because the federal authorities had withheld aid. While Indian attacks increased, the Rangers' tours ended. Brooke, acting unilaterally, chose not to discharge them because he contended that circumstances in Texas merited the retention of the Rangers for adequate retaliatory actions against the Indians.[20] Thus, according to the U.S. military, the federal government supervised the existing situations in Texas while the Rangers considered the governor in charge. Because the Rangers played an increasing role in the defense of the frontier and because they began acting under the direct control of the governor, a resentment arose between the Rangers and the Army. Each force acted under different orders, which produced distinctive roles. While the Army attempted "to police the frontier primarily by keeping the peace. The Texans rode to punish the Indians and to push them back."[21] In essence, "the [R]anger was an Indian exterminator while the Federal soldier was only a guard."[22]

Despite his misgivings about Ranger activities, in June Brooke called up an additional company of Rangers to deal with the growing crisis because he recognized their previous successes. He requested that these men remain in the field for two months or until the Indians had been subdued. He hoped with additional men that the Indians would cease to raid and plunder.[23] Moreover, due to the lack of horse soldiers, he "ordered that half of each infantry company ... be equipped and mounted as cavalry."[24] He failed to recognize that infantry had not been trained in horsemanship and were ineffective as a mounted force. To explain his actions, Brooke wrote a letter to General of the Army Winfield Scott to detail his ideas for dealing with the Indian question in Texas. He surmised that, since an inadequate force existed in the state to cope

with the Indians, only two courses of action remained. He first suggested that some area be established in which the Indians might live in tranquility, such as in the Indian territory north of Texas. If an Indian reservation proved unsuccessful, Brooke contended that force should be used not merely to quell the Indians but to exterminate them.[25]

In 1850, Congress appointed two sub-agents "to assist the special agent assigned to Texas."[26] Unfortunately, the Mexican question surfaced again; Mexican Foreign Minister Luis La Rosa complained to Washington authorities that Article XI of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty was not being honored.[27] These troubles, as well as those previously mentioned, made 1850 one of the worst years for Indian problems and for Texas-federal governmental conflicts. Governor Bell wanted the Indians out of Texas and grew angry at the United States government for not acknowledging his requests. On the other hand, the federal authorities became increasingly upset that Texas citizens wanted help but remained unwilling to let the United States government have total control.

Early in 1851 tragedy struck the Eighth Military Department. General Brooke died after being sick for only two days. His temporary replacement, Brigadier General William S. Harney, proved a capable leader during his short term as commander of the Texas area. In a letter to Harney, Bell proposed that if a number of soldiers marched across land designated as off-limits to federal forces the state would not consider this an infringement of state sovereignty. Bell's motive was to have the soldiers locate and punish marauding Indians. Seven days later, Harney authorized a large group of soldiers to advance into the Indian territory to persuade the Indians to treat with the agents and to recover captives held by the Indians. On May 1, Harney wrote to Bell to request that Mexican troops be allowed the right of way on the left bank of the Rio Grande in an effort to pacify the Indians who had committed offenses in Mexico. Although Bell gave permission for this action, a high percentage of Mexican troops deserted upon reaching the American side of the Rio Grande, thus increasing tension in United States-Mexican relations. Despite these complications, the Treaty at the Council Ground near the San Saba River represented the most promising development in 1851. John A. Rogers, a special agent for the Indians residing in Texas, coordinated the treaty which involved elements of the Comanche, Ioni, Anadarko, Caddo, Lanorha, Keechi, Tawakoni, Witchita, and Waco.[28] These tribes acknowledged "themselves to be under the authority of the United States of America and no other power, state or sovereignty."[29]

Because Indian problems continued into 1852, the secretary of war authorized the establishment of eight new posts in Texas. The Texas legislature approved a joint resolution concerning Indian boundaries. It contained three points for negotiators to follow. First, the sovereignty and domain of the state would be respected. Secondly, private property would be observed, and if confiscated, a just price would be awarded. Lastly, the legislature reserved the authority to ratify or reject any term of the resolution.[30]

In July, the citizens of the lower Rio Grande petitioned for federal protection. When federal authorities refused their request, the citizens appealed to

the governor to send Rangers for protection. In response, Bell mustered three companies of mounted volunteers to help the troops on the lower Rio Grande. The volunteers equipped themselves and offered assistance to the United States military. The Rangers received orders to communicate with the Army concerning their operations, but once again the Rangers chose not to confer with their military counterparts. Indian agents, backed by congressionally appropriated funds for the removal of non-resident Indians outside of the boundaries of Texas, managed to persuade some Indians to sign treaties agreeing to leave the state, but not many departed. George T. Howard, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, certified that the office of Indian agent seemed almost useless under the present policy. By 1853, Neighbors had been appointed supervising agent over Texas and the number of U.S. Army personnel numbered 3,294. Considering the fact that the entire Army consisted of only 13,821 men, this meant that twenty-four percent of the entire Army served in Texas.[31]

Finally, Governor Bell, frustrated with the persistent Indian dilemma, presented a message to the state legislature on November 9, 1853. In his address Bell advised granting the federal government the authority to establish a portion of Texas land as an Indian reservation. This culminated, a year later, into the first federal Indian reservation established on Texas soil.[32]

Although the Texas Indian problems remained unsolved, the formative years, from 1848 to 1853, provided the federal government with important lessons to apply to the unique Texas situation in the future. First, the United States had to contend with an independent Texas ideology which endured from the days of the Republic. Secondly, the federal government had to adhere to the state's right of retention of public lands, especially when U.S. military forces conducted operations. In the end, an amicable Texas Indian solution emerged only with state and national cooperation.

Notes

[1]Despite several articles relating to this topic, none provide substantive conclusions. Rather, they provide more synthesis instead of analysis. See George D. Harmon, "The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* XVII (December 1930), pp. 377-403; Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* XXVII (January 1925), pp. 223-234; (April 1925), pp. 259-286; XXIX (July 1925), pp. 19-35; (October 1925), pp. 98-127; the only exception is W.C. Holden, "Frontier Defense, 1846-1860," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* VI (June 1930), pp. 35-64. Holden views the years following 1848 as a time of congressional neglect due to its inability to interpret the situation. This premise is completely flawed.

[2]For an in-depth study of the Indians in Texas, see W. W. Newcomb, *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin, 1990). Initially, the frontier "extended from the northern plains, near Fort Worth, to the Rio Grande, in a fairly straight line." The frontier line changed, however, as settlers moved farther west into unoccupied land. See Mance E. Park, "Federal Forts Established in Texas 1845-1861" (M.A. thesis, Sam Houston State Teachers College, 1941); Arrie Barrett, "Western Frontier Forts of Texas 1845-1861," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, VII (June, 1931), pp. 115-139; Arrie Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas, 1846-1861" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1927); for a compilation of eyewitness accounts of Indian attacks, see J.W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin, 1890).

[3]Harmon, "The United States Indian Policy in Texas," p. 378.

[4]Harmon, "The United States Indian Policy in Texas," pp. 378-379; Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," p. 233.; Anson to Forsyth, November 26, 1838, *Journals of the Senate of the State of Texas*, 3d sess., 1849, pp. 209-210; H.P.N. Gammel, ed., *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, 10 vols. (Austin, 1898), I, pp. 1113-1114; Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* XXVI (July 1922), pp. 11-12; XXVI (October 1922), pp. 128-148.

[5]Kenneth F. Neighbours, *Indian Exodus: Texas Indian Affairs 1835-1859* (San Antonio, 1973), pp. 23, 38; Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," p. 233.

[6]*Congressional Globe*, 28th Cong., 2d sess., 1845, p. 363.

[7]Neighbours, *Indian Exodus*, pp. 58-59.

[8]The governors from 1847 to 1853 include: George T. Wood (December 21, 1847-December 21, 1849); Peter Hansborough Bell (December 21, 1849- November 23, 1853); J. P. Henderson (November 23, 1853- December 21, 1853); Elisha M. Pease (December 21, 1853-December 21, 1857). See Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1958), p. 445; Neighbours, *Indian Exodus*, p. 58-59; Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo), Charles I. Bevans, ed., *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America 1776-1949* (13 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1972), IX; p. 798.

[9]"The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860," p. 4, Walter Prescott Webb Collection (hereinafter cited as WPWC), Barker Texas History Center, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, Texas (hereinafter cited as BTHC, CAH); Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York, 1967), p. 71. According to Utley, in 1853 the Eighth Military Department became the Department of Texas.

[10]*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 30th Cong., 2d sess., H. Doc. 1, November 30, 1848, (Serial 537), pp. 385-386; Indian Commissioner Medill on Indian Colonies, November 30, 1848, *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, edited by Francis Paul Prucha (Lincoln, 1990), p. 77.

[11]*Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs*, November 30, 1848, p. 386; *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, p. 78.

[12]Medill to Neighbors, March 20, 1847, *A Communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 30th Cong, 1st sess., S. Rept. 171, (Serial 512), pp. 1-3; Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," p. 272; Neighbors to Medill, March 2, 1848, Indian Office Letters Received and Sent (hereinafter cited as IOLRS), Photocopy from the National Archives (hereinafter cited as NA), in BTHC, CAH; Frank M. Temple, "Federal Military Defense of the Trans-Pecos Region, 1850-1880," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* XXX (October 1954), p. 43; Park, "Federal Forts Established in Texas," pp. 24-42; Barrett, "Western Frontier Forts of Texas," pp. 115-118.

[13]Gammel, *The Laws of Texas*, III; p. 206.

[14]General Order No. 28, May 25, 1849, IOLRS, Photocopy from NA in BTHC, CAH; Texas Indians in 1849, *Texas Indian Papers*, III; pp. 108-109; "The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860," p. 5, WPWC, BTHC, CAH; Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas," p. 9; Beaver Creek, August 30, 1849, IOLRS, Photocopy from NA in BTHC, CAH.

[15]"The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860," pp. 5-6, 9 WPWC, BTHC, CAH; Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas," pp. 9, 15; Robert Wooster, "Military Strategy in the Southwest, 1848-1860," *Military History of Texas and the Southwest* XV (1979), p. 9; Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," pp. 25-26; Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin, 1985), p. 141.

[16]Babbit to _____, October 15, 1849, IOLRS, Photocopy from the NA in BTHC, CAH.

[17]T.R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York, 1983), p. 276.

[18]Governor to the House of Representatives, December 26, 1849, *Journals of the Senate of the State of Texas*, 3d sess., 1849, p. 292.

[19]Governor to the House of Representatives, p. 293.

[20]P.H. Bell to the Texas Legislature, January 18, 1850, Dorman H. Winfrey, ed., *Texas Indian Papers 1846-1859,* 4 vols. (Austin, 1960), III, p. 110; Brooke to Bell, January 30, 1850, Brooke to Scott, May 28, 1850, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War,* 31st Cong., 2d sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1., pt. II, November 30, 1850, (Serial 595), pp. 25, 35; "The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860," p. 12, WPWC, BTHC, CAH.

[21]Fehrenbach, *Lone Star,* p. 276.

[22]Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," p. 24.

[23]Order of Brevet Major General Brooke, General Order No. 27, June 4, 1850, Records of the Governor (hereinafter cited as ROG), Texas State Archives (hereinafter cited as TSA), Austin, Texas.

[24]"The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860," p. 13, WPWC, BTHC, CAH.

[25]Brooke to Scott, May 28, 1850, *Texas Indian Papers*, III, pp. 119-120.

[26]Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," p. 263.

[27]Luis de la Rosa to Clayton, March 20, 1850, *Wild Indians on the Frontiers of Mexico,* 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 62, (Serial 577), pp. 1-3; *Message of the President to Both Houses of Congress,* 31st Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 1, 2 December 1850, (Serial 587), p. 29; Barrett, "Federal Military Outposts in Texas, 1846-1861," p. 19.

[28]Eventually Brigadier General Persifor F. Smith became commander. He established a cordon of forts for defense and as posts to launch offensive raids against the Indians. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue,* pp. 73, 343-344.; *Texas State Gazette,* December 2, 1850; Bell to Harney, April 16, 1851, Deas Military Orders No. 31, April 20, 1851, Harney to Bell, May 1, 1851, ROG, TSA; Treaty Between the United States and the Comanche, Lipan, Mescalero and Other Tribes of Indians, October 28, 1851, *Texas Indian Papers,* III, pp. 149-154; Council Ground San Sabre, October 28, 1851, ROG, TSA.

[29]*Texas Indian Papers,* III, p. 149.

[30]Joint Resolution Concerning Indian Boundaries, February 16, 1852, *Laws of Texas,* IV, p. 141.

[31]A Petition from the Rio Grande, July 1, 1852, ROG, TSA; Bell to Gillett, August 2, 1852, ROG, TSA; Neighbours, *Indian Exodus,* p. 91-92; "The United States Army in Texas, 1845-1860" p. 19, WPWC, BTHC, CAH; Harmon, "United States Indian Policy in Texas," p. 391.

[32]Harmon, "The United States Indian Policy in Texas," p. 393; Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," pp. 98-124. In this article, Koch describes the establishment and subsequent demise of Indian reservations in Texas.

MARTIN DIES, JOHN HENRY KIRBY AND TIMBER POLITICS, 1908-1919

by A. John Impson

On March 25, 1909 Martin Dies walked down the aisle of the United States House of Representatives and took the podium for the first time and boldly declared, "What I lack ... in comprehensive knowledge of the details of the tariff bill I hope to make up by the candor and sincerity with which I express myself." Tariff revision was the subject under consideration and Dies stood ready to defend his region and his party. The Payne Tariff, he declared, "was just what the country had a right to expect at the hands of the Republican Party." Dies warned House Republicans that if they hoped to gain the support of the South and the West they would have to repeal the "odious sectional tariff laws" and make haste to declare for the white man's domination of the government and the integrity of the caucasian race."[1] Ironically, the same House Republicans Dies condemned had occasion to cheer the East Texan several days later when he voted to extend tariff benefits to the timber industry, a revision favored by East Texas lumber manufacturers. "Taking care of the home folks," as one future representative of the Texas Second Congressional District would describe it, and practical politics were clearly more important to the young congressman than blind idealism or consistent behavior.

Dies' willingness to take the Republican chiding on behalf of the East Texas lumber industry presents an important question as to how well the congressman represented the large lumbering concerns in his district, which included the holdings of John Henry Kirby, T.L.L. Temple, H.J. Lutcher, G.B. Moore, and others.[2] This question is made even more intriguing in light of Dies' long personal and financial association with another former resident of Tyler County, John Henry Kirby, and Dies' earlier success as a member of the People's Party.[3]

In 1908 Dies was firmly in the Democratic Party and hoped to advance his political career, mainly by exploiting incumbent Congressman S.B. Coopers' long association with John Henry Kirby.[4] In fact, Dies made this well-known relationship the premier issue in his campaign. After a Dies speech delivered at the corner of Crockett and Main streets in Beaumont, the *Enterprise* reported: "He (Dies) paid his respects to Cooper and J.H. Kirby, saying that they were Siamese twins and if they could not be separated, he promised to bury them both on election day."[5] Dies' attack apparently was in response to Kirby's attempt to help his old benefactor by telling voters that if elected Dies would have "as about as much influence in Congress as a Negro."[6]

Kirby had been advising the Cooper campaign all Spring. In May Kirby had written Cooper to advise him on support in the town of Center. "The news I have from your district in the past two days has been very discouraging," Kirby told the candidate. "You have a fight on your hands and there is no

A. John Impson taught at Blinn College in Bryan, Texas.

mistake about it." Kirby promised to continue his efforts on Cooper's behalf. "I am going to speak at Jacksonville at the reunion of Hood's Brigade on the 25th and 26th. Of course, I shall not talk politics from the rostrum, but I shall do some talking on the side."[7]

By July Kirby was taking an even more active role on Cooper's behalf. He resented Dies' charge that his company had obstructed navigation on East Texas rivers. Kirby told Congressman Cooper's son that his company had no interest in the Sabine and only limited interests along the Neches. Kirby admitted that some of his company's loggers used the Neches, "but neither they nor we place any obstructions in the river." In fact, Kirby claimed that his company had spent a "considerable sum" to improve the navigation of the Neches. Dies, Kirby claimed, was lying. He wrote, "It is marvel to me that Mr. Dies would seek to prejudice the public against us, but his act in that regard is less surprising than that he would boldly and baldly assert that we have been obstructing the navigation in those rivers, with obstacles to be removed at the public's expense when he is bound to know that such statements are inexcusably and unqualifiedly untrue."[8]

Kirby urged the Cooper campaign to action. "I think you ought to prepare a circular embracing Martin Dies's Lufkin speech in full ... It don't cost much to get up the circular and you ought to have them ready ... The campaign circular," Kirby continued, " is the modern weapon of (political) warfare ... Dies is resorting to it and is going to work it daily from now until July 25th." If Cooper failed to fight back it would greatly lessen his chance for re-election. "Dies is a weak man," Kirby concluded, "and to be overwhelmingly defeated needs only to be exposed."

Kirby included a list of charges the Cooper campaign could use to derail the Dies candidacy. Kirby believed that Dies' populism could be exploited. Dies repeatedly had opposed Democratic nominees to further his ambition in the People's Party. Then, after having secured election as county judge in Tyler County in 1895, Dies returned to the Democratic Party only to abandon it in 1896 to support William McKinley. Kirby claimed that Dies had celebrated McKinley's victory over William Jennings Bryan with a group of black Republicans on the streets of Woodville. Kirby claimed that in 1898 Dies had "joined the army when the Spanish war broke out, got as far as Austin, and got himself discharged by deceiving the surgeons regarding his eyesight." After the discovery of oil at Spindletop, Dies, according to Kirby, "made a fortune in manipulating land titles in the oil district." A campaign circular embracing these charges "within safe limitations," Kirby concluded, "would be very effective."[9] The younger Cooper took Kirby's advice. The charge that "Dies and twenty Negroes" had celebrated McKinley's victory on the streets of Woodville appeared in several East Texas newspapers.[10] Cooper's circulars failed to have the desired effect, because on July 25 voters of the Second Congressional District elected Dies to Congress.

Dies' willingness to exploit Cooper's relationship with Kirby was hypocritical, to say the least. Dies and his three attorney brothers, Will, Thomas,

and Jack, had tried to cultivate a relationship with Kirby. As early as 1891 Will Dies had written Kirby offering, for a small retainer, not to take any cases against Kirby in Hardin County.[11] "I had rather work for you than against you," the young attorney told Kirby. Apparently, Kirby did not pay and was soon involved in litigation. In 1897 Will Dies again approached Kirby. Dies wrote, "Say Kirby, I'll make you a proposition give me a Small Retainer [underling Dies's] and I'll not take any cases against your Co. but will assist you in any matter wherein my assistance might be desired."[12] This time Kirby paid and continued to pay.

For a mere $100-a-year retainer Kirby not only received good legal advice, but soon had an ear in Austin as well. By 1899 Will Dies was serving in the State House of Representatives and contemplating a race for the state Senate. Kirby never hesitated to advise Dies on matters important to his business, and Dies seemed perfectly willing to do the lumber baron's bidding. In the Spring of 1899, Will Dies pushed for a railroad consolidation bill that Kirby wanted and Texas Governor J.D. Sayers opposed. When the bill passed both houses of the legislature, Kirby wrote Dies, "I am greatly obligated to you for the zeal with which you have championed this measure."[13] A month later Kirby wrote Dies to complain about a policy change at the land commissioner's office that forced him to pay $5.50 per acre for a tract of East Texas timberland owned by the state. "I paid for it for the simple reason that I could not have it fall into the hands of those Orange fellows," Kirby moaned. "It was a serious disappointment to me to pay such a price, but it is a feather in [Land Commissioner Charles] Rogan's cap."[14]

When the legislative session ended in 1899 Will Dies was again in East Texas looking after Kirby's interests. In July Kirby sent Dies to Sabine County to buy land. Always wanting to cut costs, Kirby instructed Dies to "be a bear rather than a bull" on making the purchases. "There are some people up there now that think a few trees are worth a fortune and that kind of notion gets in my way occasionally."[15] In August Kirby learned of Will Dies' desire to run for the state Senate and quickly promised support. "I note your statement that you will be a candidate for State Senate next year and while I think you very foolish to mix in politics, yet you can be sure of my support and best services in your behalf."[16]

While Will Dies' ability to help Kirby certainly surpassed that of his brothers at this point, both Martin and Jack were on the Kirby payroll. Thomas seems to have continued to take clients who had legal disputes with the Kirby Lumber Company. Such disputes, on at least one occasion, pitted brother against brother, as was the case in January 1898 when Martin Dies wrote Kirby: "My distinguished brother at Kountze is on his 'ear' and threatens to give us some trouble on the Anderson suit...it may be that I will want you to come to our rescue, or rather cooperate with us on in the adjudication of this matter."[17]

While Kirby maintained a close business relationship with all of the Dies brothers, he seems to have developed a closer personal friendship with Martin.

In April 1898, when Martin decided to abandoned his law practice in search of military glory against the Spanish, he felt compelled to explain his actions to Kirby. He wrote the Lumber Baron a long letter in which he claimed many of his friends regarded his enlistment as the "height of folly." But Dies believed that "no man was ever too good to serve his country when the country called" and the army could not rely on soldiers who joined because they "could not get a better job at home." As he prepared to go off to war, Dies promised to keep Kirby abreast of all "the things I see and hear."[18]

The ill feeling between Martin Dies and John Henry Kirby that surfaced as Dies tried to advance his political fortunes at the expense of S.B. Cooper were not present before 1908. Apparently on several occasions Kirby loaned Dies money and on at least one occasion Kirby asked Dies for financial assistance. On April 22, 1899, Kirby wrote to Dies, who was then in Beaumont, "On May 3rd I have got to pay out a large sum of money. If convenient for you to help me out at this time please do so." Apparently, a note for $17,500 that Kirby had signed in Boston was due and the Lumber Baron needed help. "It is of the utmost importance to me to maintain my credit at that bank I must make every effort possible to raise the money. I would not call on you if it were a case of less urgency."[19] In September 1906, the tables were turned and Kirby paid off a $1000 debt for Dies by over drafting his own account. "I am confident I can cover by Monday or Tuesday of next week," Kirby told Dies. When Dies paid back the loan the following Spring he inquired about the interest. Kirby responded, "This loan was a mere matter between friends and I believe it has always been our East Texas policy to account to each other for principal only. We charge interest when we trade. We do not charge interest when we act to serve."[20]

Kirby's loans might well have been an attempt to bolster a friend experiencing a personal crisis. A letter from Dies to Kirby in August 1900 suggests that Dies was battling alcoholism. Dies had relocated to Colorado, Texas, where he was pursuing life as a rancher. "You may be surprised when I tell you that I have been beastly sober for nearly a year," Dies told Kirby. "Haven't taken a drink this year ... I am hopeful. It 'springs eternal in the human breast' you know, and I am determined to be 'heard from.'"[21] Kirby seemed relieved to hear of Dies' confidence and determination. Several days later he responded, "I am glad indeed to note from your letter that you are full of ambition and engaged in formulating plans for creating a plethoric exchequer. Yours is a mind which soars in the filmy realms of poetic dreaming or toils with the masses in sordid commercialism with equal facility."[22]

By 1906 Dies was ready to be "heard from," not as a candidate in his own right but as a supporter of Bronson Cooper, who was trying to regain the congressional seat he had lost in 1904. Cooper had been defeated by M.L. Broocks, a pro-labor candidate from the southern end of the Second District. Apparently in 1904, Cooper had not taken Broocks candidacy seriously and had paid dearly for it. In 1906 Cooper was more visible throughout the district. An editorial appearing in the Beaumont *Enterprise* and reprinted in the Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel* observed, "only a few years back, he (Cooper)

was too dignified to do the scrambling act, but he is hungry for it this time ... My don't (sic) Cooper want it bad this time."[23]

The same editorial commented on Kirby's role in the campaign, "John Henry Kirby has been fiddling about on politics in the 2cd (sic) district ever since Cooper was incubated as a congressional possibility," the *Enterprise* observed. But this was the first race in which Kirby had taken such an open and active part. "It seems awful hard for Kirby to get rid of that debt to Cooper for taking him in as an office boy a long time ago," concluded the *Enterprise*.[24]

Kirby's active involvement in the campaign gave Broocks plenty of political ammunition. He attacked Cooper for being on the board of the Houston Oil Company, a Kirby controlled company. "The power behind Mr. Cooper's candidacy," Broocks told a gathering in the Nacogdoches County community of Garrison, "is Mr. Kirby of Houston.[25]

As the July Democratic Primary approached, Kirby believed that Cooper was in trouble, mainly because of the candidate's association with him. In May, Martin Dies wrote Kirby explaining that several prominent citizens in Beaumont intended to support Broocks, mainly because they were tired of Kirby's meddling in local politics. "I shall regret that Mr. Pope or any other citizen votes against Cooper on my account," Kirby told Dies.[26] Several weeks later, with Cooper's chances looking slim, Kirby summoned Dies to a more active involvement in the campaign. Kirby procured for Dies a leave of absence with the Guffy Oil Company in Beaumont and urged Dies to take to the stump on Cooper's behalf. "Don your armor and get in the ring," Kirby demanded. "Our friends write me that a few speeches by you in Shelby County alone will be worth hundreds of votes for Cooper." Kirby concluded, "From now until the 28th, three weeks, we ought to give the enemy the bayonet with all the vigor possible and the only way to do so is to put our commander in the field and rally and organize our forces."[27] Apparently not everyone was impressed with Dies' ability to aid the Cooper campaign. The Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel* reported, "Mr. Dies is a shrewd man and a good speaker, but in his advocacy of Hon. S.B. Cooper he indulges in a lot of oratorical flights that receive momentary applause, but get no votes."[28] Obviously the editor of the *Daily Sentinel* underestimated Dies' ability to pull in votes because Cooper defeated Broocks, regaining his congressional seat.

Dies' involvement in the Cooper campaign was extremely important for his future political career. By speaking on Cooper's behalf throughout the Second District, Dies, a relatively unknown, became much better acquainted with East Texas voters. Dies also learned first hand about Cooper's weakness as an uninspired campaigner and about Cooper's greatest vulnerability, his association with John Henry Kirby. In 1908, Martin Dies defeated Cooper by employing the same tactics that M.L. Broocks had used in 1904 and 1906.

Even after Dies' election to Congress, the correspondence continued. Congressman Dies and his brothers Will and Jack often sought Kirby's advice on business affairs. In September 1909 the Dies' brothers were interested in Kirby rebuilding a mill near the Dies property in Tyler County that would have

increased the amount the brothers could demand for their timber. "I think when the market improves I can get the board of directors to do so," Kirby wrote the brothers.[29] Several months later Kirby wrote Martin Dies, trying to obtain a federal judgeship for S.B. Cooper.[30] Dies apparently had someone else in mind and refused to back the former congressman. Any bad blood that may have lingered between John Henry Kirby and Martin Dies seems to have disappeared by the Fall of 1910. Dies wrote Kirby an extremely friendly letter which Kirby claimed reminded him of the days "when I knew absolutely that you did love me." Kirby also promised to visit Dies at the latter's East Texas farm as soon as he returned from Washington. "I will linger about your premises for as many weeks or months as you will permit me, and in the meantime I will feed the hogs and do other chores in the day while discussing the philosophy that interests during the evening."[31]

While most of the Dies-Kirby correspondence between 1908 and 1913 was personal in nature, Kirby, a staunch protectionist, had to have been pleased with Dies' performance in Congress, especially in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff debate. In that instance, the Yellow Pine Manufacturers Association mounted a fierce effort for maintaining a tariff on lumber, refuting the idea that cheap lumber would promote conservation.[32] In that debate Dies fought valiantly for the interests of his region: "I detest the spirit of blind sectional selfishness which demands free trade for all it buys and high tariffs for all that it sells." Dies promised that one day soon the South was going to "rise like a giant from the couch of her infirmities." He did not neglect the timber industry in his dramatic appeal to the House. "I ask you not to forget the 5000 boys who are rolling and stacking lumber down in my part of the country." When some suggested adding lumber to the free list to lessen the cost on home construction, Dies was quick to inquire about window glass and iron hinges.[33]

In the Spring of 1911, Dies continued to defend the timber producers of his district. This time the issue was Canadian reciprocity. Southern lumbermen feared the competition of duty-free Canadian lumber. When the Republicans attempted to put lumber on the free list, Dies bounded to the podium. "The doctrine of free raw materials," he proclaimed, "is either the progeny of the Whig-Republican Party or it is a political bastard. It was never conceived in Democratic brains or warmed in Democratic hearts." The Republicans, he charged, pursued free raw materials because they were "selfishness personified." "You want to buy in a free market and you are selfish enough to demand to sell in a protected market," Dies told them.[34] Dies continued to support protection for raw materials during the Underwood Tariff debate during the early days of the Wilson Administration. Dies tried unsuccessfully to add an amendment protecting certain raw materials on the final bill, a move opposed by the Democratic leadership.[35]

Kirby continued to give Dies the benefit of his opinion. In May 1913 the lumber baron tried to advise Dies on an appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission. "Sawmills, as well as other industries, will come under the investigations of this committee."[36] Kirby also wrote Dies on numerous

occasions to suggest friends for local appointments and to secure a post office near the old Kirby home near Peachtree Village in Tyler County.

During the Summer of 1915 Kirby wrote to Dies, who was temporarily back in East Texas. "My Dear Cincinnatus," he began, "I have heard of that fifteen acres of corn you are cultivating in the sweat of your own fare. I am wondering if you do not desire to employ a hand at fodder-pulling time. Would you consider my application?" For whatever reason, Dies gathered his corn without Kirby, much to the lumber baron's chagrin. A disgruntled Kirby sarcastically accused Dies of forgetting his friends. "Sitting in the inviting shade of a broad piazza, spitting your tobacco juice against the wall when it ought to be spurted in the opposite direction; thrusting your cracked fingers through your ample whiskers and contemplating the exaltations of your proud position, you have become ungrateful, thoughtless, hardhearted, cruel." He ended with a threat. "I pray that remorse may overtake you and that your next letter will be an unequivocal endorsement of my application, for the place which I seek. If you do not see it proper to do me this simple justice I shall proclaim it from the housetops that agriculturists hereafter may avoid your presence."[37]

An issue important to East Texas lumber producers on which Dies did not flood the House with his fiery rhetoric was that of labor relations. Dies was much less outspoken in denouncing organized labor than his better know son, who, prodded by Kirby, went to extremes to condemn the Wage and Hour Bill in 1938.[38] On various occasions East Texas lumbermen spoke out on issues concerning their industry, such as the attempt in 1916 to tax lumber or the 1918 effort to tax raw material producers who worked employees more than eight hours a day. In the latter case lumber manufacturer T.L.L. Temple wrote virtually the entire Texas delegation to oppose the Jones Bill. Now, he advised, would not be the time for such legislation. He continued, "As far as I know the employees of the various mills are satisfied and contented with treatment they are now getting, including wages and hours of service."[39] At least one member of the Texas delegation agreed with Temple. Hatton Sumners responded, " ... it seems to me that your position on the Jones Bill is correct."[40] Since the bill never made it to the floor, one can not say conclusively how Dies would have voted; one suspects, however, that he would have acted in a manner consistent with that of his fellow Texans.

Perhaps Dies took a low profile on labor issues out of fear of losing either the support of timber workers or prominent backers such as Kirby. Dies confined his "pro-labor" rhetoric to immigrant bashing, an issue he used in his campaign in 1908. Illiterates from abroad would provide unfair competition for American workers and, as Dies maintained, "were incompetent and incapable of arbitrating the destiny of the one remaining republic on the face of the earth."[41]

An issue where Dies' sentiments ran counter to those of the lumbering industry was on that of "preparedness." The timber industry had much to gain from America's attempt to build up its military strength, a fact many in the

timber industry recognized. A Lumber Press Club meeting in St. Louis in July 1916, for example, was described as a "School of Preparedness," and the organization made T.L.L. Temple an honorary colonel.[42] War with Germany was not something to advocate, but "our business would be A1," a friend of Temple's from Ellis County wrote.[43] John Henry Kirby played an even more prominent role in the preparedness program by serving the Wilson Administration as the lumber administrator for the South in the Emergency Fleet Corporation of the United States Shipping Board.[44]

Dies opposed any expansion of the military establishment. As early as 1911, Dies was warning the United States to "attend to its own business" and "to stop meddling in the politics of Europe." He considered it "the lesson of all history that the spirit of liberty, equality and free government" cannot live in a military atmosphere. On January 28, 1916, Dies warned against a war scare brought about by munitions dealers and military men. He said, "...the Teddy Roosevelts are never truly happy unless they can see blood and bellow like a bull in the slaughter pen."[45] Dies also tried to discourage American involvement in the war by proposing tax increases for army and navy appropriations be levied in proportion to wealth so that the "profit makers might be less anxious to embark on war ... ."[46] In January 1916, President Wilson embarked on a speaking tour to rally the country to his preparedness program. As Wilson spoke in the Midwest, Dies told Washington audiences, "Europe is on fire all right, but there is about 3,000 miles between us and the conflagration."[47] Wilson obviously took Dies seriously, because when the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* announced its opposition to Dies, Wilson was quick to send his thanks to editor-owner Louis J. Wortham.[48]

When the crisis reached its peak, Dies voted for the declaration of war against Germany. It would have been political suicide for him to have done anything else. Dies, in his earlier anti-war rhetoric, had sounded a great deal like Mississippi Senator James K. Vardaman.[49] Dies, however, did not remain loyal to the anti-war crusade as did Vardaman, but was still apprehensive about American involvement with Europe. He warned President Wilson to be careful in a card game where there are more kings and queens than there are presidents.[50]

In the Spring of 1918 Dies announced his retirement from Congress, citing ill health as the reason for his departure. His farewell to the House was a dramatic moment. Dies took the opportunity to lecture his colleagues on the nature of the American system of government. He presented what could be called a Jeffersonian appeal for a return to agrarian values. He warned against departing from the "spirit and traditions of this republic" and appealed to congressmen to vote their convictions rather than worry about the political consequences of their actions.[51]

How well did Martin Dies represent the interest of the East Texas timber industry during his tenure in Congress? Late nineteenth-century wit Ambrose Bierce defined politics as: "A strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles." Martin Dies' long relationship and correspondence with John

Henry Kirby shows that Dies was willing to go to bat for lumber manufacturers if it was politically expedient for him to do so, as was the case during the Payne and Underwood tariff debates. In other cases, such as labor relations, Dies was less willing to be a tool of the timber industry, recognizing that too close a relationship with Kirby held the potential of political disaster. After all, Martin Dies was elected to Congress by promising East Texas voters to end Kirby's influence in politics, not increase it.

NOTES

[1]*Congressional Record,* 61st Congress, Vol. 44, part 1, pp. 294-295; While little has been written about the career of Martin Dies, he is discussed in several works on his more famous son who represented the Second Congressional District in the 1930s and 1940s. Those include: William Gellerman, *Martin Dies* (New York, 1945); Alvin John Impson, "Texas Demagogue: The Political Career of Martin Dies, 1930-1945," (M.A. thesis, Texas A&M University, 1989); Dennis Kay McDaniel, "Martin Dies of Un-American Activities: His Life and Times," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Houston, 1988); and Donald R. Walker, "The Public Career of Congressman Martin Dies, Sr., 193-38," (M.A. thesis, Lamar University, 1974). A version of this paper was presented to the East Texas Historical Association at the Spring meeting in 1994.

[2]The best work on the East Texas timber industry is Robert S. Maxwell and Robert Baker, *Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumbering Industry, 1830-1940* (College Station, 1983).

[3]Dies ran successfully for county judge in Tyler county as a member of the People's Party in 1894; Tyler County Election Returns, County Courthouse, Woodville, Texas.

[4]Cooper, a prominent citizen of Tyler County, had taken a young Kirby under his wing; he gave Kirby his first job, and provided him with opportunities that he might otherwise have lacked. Kirby remained devoted to Cooper throughout the congressman's life. See Mary S. Lasswell, *John Henry Kirby: Prince of the Pines* (Austin, 1967); Kirby's business affairs outside the timber industry are discussed in Walter L. Buenger and Joseph A. Pratt, *But Also Good Business: Texas Commerce Banks and the Financing of Houston and Texas, 1886-1986* (College Station, 1986); and John O. King, *The Early Years of the Houston Oil Company of Texas, 1901-1908* (Houston, 1959).

[5]Beaumont *Enterprise,* July 4, 1908.

[6]Beaumont *Enterprise,* July 24, 1908.

[7]John Henry Kirby to S.B. Cooper, May 30, 1908, Kirby Letterbooks, East Texas Collection, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas.

[8]John Henry Kirby to S.B. Cooper, Jr., July 1, 1908, Kirby Letterbooks.

[9]John Henry Kirby to S.B. Cooper, Jr., July 1, 1908, Kirby Letterbooks.

[10]Beaumont *Enterprise,* July 24, 1908.

[11]W.W. Dies to John Henry Kirby, November 30, 1891, Kirby Lumber Company Records, Box 1, East Texas Collection, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas.

[12]W.W. Dies to John Henry Kirby, January 6, 1897, Kirby Lumber Company Records, Box 1.

[13]John Henry Kirby to W.W. Dies, May 5, 1899, Kirby Letterbooks.

[14]John Henry Kirby to W.W. Dies, June 5, 1899, Kirby Letterbooks; those "Orange fellows" in all likelihood were G.D. Lutcher and H.J. Moore. For a good account of land policy during this period see Thomas Lloyd Miller, *The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970* (Norman, 1972).

[15]John Henry Kirby to W.W. Dies, July 15, 1899, Kirby Letterbooks.

[16]John Henry Kirby to W.W. Dies, August 29, 1899, Kirby Letterbooks.

[17]Martin Dies to John Henry Kirby, January 19, 1898, Kirby Lumber Company Records, Box 1.

[18]Martin Dies to John Henry Kirby, April 30, 1898, Kirby Lumber Company Records, Box 1; Dies apparently failed his physical. Kirby later claimed that dies had thought better of his military adventure and had lied to army physicians to secure his release.

[19]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, April 22, 1899, John Henry Kirby Letterbooks.

[20]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, May 25, 1907. Kirby Letterbooks.

[21]Martin Dies to John Henry Kirby, August 18, 1900, Kirby Papers, Houston Metropolitan Library and Research Center, Box 12/D-2; McDaniel, "Martin Dies of Un-American Activities," p. 21.

[22]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, September 7, 1900, Kirby Letterbooks.

[23]Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel,* July 2, 1906.

[24]Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel,* July 2, 1906.

[25]Nacogdoches *Daily Sentinel,* July 7, 1906.

[26]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, May 4,1906, Kirby Letterbooks.

[27]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, July 9, 1906, Kirby Letterbooks.

[28]Nacogdoches, *Daily Sentinel,* July 19, 1906.

[29]John Henry Kirby to Jack Dies, September 20, 1909, Kirby Letterbooks.

[30]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, February 6, 1910, Kirby Letterbooks.

[31]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, October 29, 1910, Kirby Letterbooks.

[32]See *American Lumberman,* September 12, 1908 and December 5, 1908; and William G. Robbins, *Lumberjacks and Legislators: The Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941* (College Station, 1982).

[33]*Congressional Record,* 61st Congress, Vol. 47, part 1, p. 546.

[34]*Congressional Record,* 62nd Congress, Vol. 47, part 1, p. 408.

[35]Oscar Underwood to Woodrow Wilson, April 17, 1913, *Woodrow Wilson Papers* (Princeton, 1978), Vol. 27, p. 322.

[36]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, June 17, 1915, Kirby Letterbooks.

[37]John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies, June 17 and 28, 1915, Kirby Letterbooks.

[38]See John Henry Kirby to Martin Dies (son), April 20, 1938, Martin Dies Papers, Sam Houston Library and Research Center, Liberty, Texas, File L; and Impson, "Texas Demagogue," p. 82.

[39]T.L.L. Temple to Sam Rayburn, January 11, 1918, Temple Papers, East Texas Collection, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas, Box 16.

[40]Hatton Sumners to T.L.L. Temple, January 16, 1918, Temple Papers, Box 16.

[41]Gellerman, *Martin Dies,* p. 21.

[42]Bolling Arthur Johnson to T.L.L. Temple, July 10, 1916, Temple Papers, Box 16.

[43]Mitchell to T.L.L. Temple, February 16, 1917, Temple Papers, Box 16.

[44]Maxwell and Baker, *Sawdust Empire,* p. 104.

[45]Maxwell and Baker, *Sawdust Empire,* p. 18.

[46]Maxwell and Baker, *Sawdust Empire,* p. 18.

[47]Lewis Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era* (Austin, 1973), p. 182.

[48]Woodrow Wilson to Louis J. Wortham, February 16, 1916, *Woodrow Wilson Papers,* Vol. 36, p. 185.

[49]See William H. Holmes, *The White Chief: James Kimble Vardaman* (Baton Rouge, 1970).

[50]Gellerman, *Martin Dies,* p. 21.

[51]Gellerman, *Martin Dies,* pp. 31-32.

BONNIE AND CLYDE IN TEXAS: THE END OF THE TEXAS OUTLAW TRADITION

by Mitchel Roth

The history of the outlaw tradition predates the founding of America and can be traced at least to eleventh-century England. Outlaw legends have appeared in a variety of incarnations throughout American history and it would be impossible to ascribe a particular paradigm to its development. Examples of this tradition can be found in most regions of America. Vermont had Ethan Allen's Green Mountain boys, New Mexico had Billy the Kid, and California the mystical Joaquin Murrieta and highwayman Jack Powers.

By comparison, the Texas outlaw tradition is not only rich but is more complex. Southern, Spanish, and Southwestern influences and traditions have found their way into the various explanations for its persistence into the twentieth century. Legends and historical accounts of Texas outlaws often are imbued with the mythology of the social bandit. Criminal justice historian Frank Prassel described the American outlaw tradition as "essentially democratic," asserting that "in pure form the legend is born of injustice and reflects a wish for rebellion, yet it often has elements of savagery, suffering, betrayal, and doom."[1]

The association of outlaws and Texas as well as the West became an integral facet of the American myth during the mid-nineteenth century. The phrase "Gone to Texas," often abbreviated "G.T.T.," implied that those fleeing the law could find a less-demanding system of criminal justice in Texas. According to the popular historian Ed Bartholomew, "Texas had more of the so-called badmen than all the others put together" in the years following the Civil War.[2]

The Texas outlaw tradition can be divided into two distinct phases, both responses to changing social, economic, and political conditions in the Lone Star state. After 1865, divisions became apparent within American society as the result of modernization and its resultant upheaval. The first phase coincided with the terrible "1870s" after the Civil War, a period when unreconstructed Texans felt the sting of injustice at the hands of Governor Edmund J. Davis' State Police and Carpetbagger rule. However, Texas emerged from the Civil War in probably better shape economically than any other Confederate state. Recent scholarship suggests that the injustice of this period has been overstated, which nonetheless did not make it any less real to the defeated populace.

Between 1865 and 1890, outlaw gangs took full advantage of the social disorganization and the lack of resources available to support peace officers or to construct jails, leading one visitor to Texas to comment, "If you want distinction in this lawless country, kill somebody." Outlaws such as William Longley, Sam Bass, and John Wesley Hardin apparently gave little thought to killing or maiming newly freed blacks. According to Western historian Joseph

Mitchel Roth teaches history and criminal justice at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville.

G. Rosa, that while both Hardin and Longley "started down the outlaw trail killing what they classified as belligerent Negroes," any examination of their careers will demonstrate that "neither man had much respect for anyone – black or white."[3]

One biographer of Sam Bass noted, "He manifested a remarkable antipathy for Negroes."[4] Of the first four books written about Sam Bass, all but one were published anonymously. According to Ramon Adams, "Perhaps it was because they were written during the life of Bass and his followers and there was some fear of retaliation, but more likely it was because the writers were too proud to have their names associated with that of an outlaw." More than a few authors of books on outlaws thus penned their works under a pseudonym, lest their reputation be sullied. Nonetheless, these books were classed among the penny dreadfuls, forbidden to youngsters but still read in secret by young adults.[5] As late as 1956, some chroniclers of the Texas outlaw tradition felt stigmatized enough to write under pseudonyms decades after the deaths of their subjects. Stanley Francis Louis Crocciola, for instance, wrote the biography of Robert A. "Clay" Allison under the pen-name of F. Stanley.[6]

By the twentieth century Texas outlaws were lionized as heroes, their exploits described on a par with the most famous peace officers. It was not uncommon in the years before the civil rights movement to read of the racist deeds of outlaws during the 1870s as if they were noble knights on a crusade against miscegenation. In the men's magazine *For Men Only,* in an article published in 1938 entitled "Minister's Son-Of-A-Gun," based on the life of John Wesley Hardin, we read of an outlaw who was a "hardware artist with forty notches on his gun." The author cited the turmoil accompanying Reconstruction as the stimulus for the climate of violence that prevailed, stating that "Some of the colored folk took their citizenship too seriously, and this irked Wes, so he shot himself one."[7]

An even earlier article by J. Martin Hunter, in an issue of the *Frontier Times Monthly* in 1926, noted that the "Careers of Cullen M. Baker, Ben Bickerstaff, Bob Lee, John Wesley Hardin, and Bill Longley bear a striking resemblance to each other in their first stages." Hunter stated that the "primary cause was the freed Negroes," explaining that "in normal times these men would have been normal men."[8]

The second distinct phase of outlawry in Texas began soon after the invention of the automobile and was given impetus by the increasing disparity of incomes in the burgeoning industrialized economy. By the 1930s, Texas had moved beyond its frontier reputation with a population of nearly six million people, with more than forty percent living in urban areas. The state had changed, but it still relied on the Texas Rangers for statewide law enforcement, even though it barely had evolved beyond the ranging companies which patrolled on horseback in earlier years. Texas became the American dream for motorized outlaws during the first decades of the twentieth century. This era became "a sort of bridge between the classic era, when outlaws used horses,

six-shooters, and Winchesters, and the new age, when they employed automobiles, automatic pistols, and submachine guns in their crimes."[9]

Outlaw depredations in Texas early in the 1930s were in part assisted by the virtual absence of a state police apparatus. Others attributed the outbreak of outlaw activity to the Depression, and in the process many poor Texans imbued these criminals with certain features of the Robin Hood tradition. Texas was hit hard by the stock market crash in 1929 as prices plummeted on cattle and farm products. And when Prohibition ended in 1934, bootleggers and other gangsters joined those who already had fallen on hard times.

While banks were also hard hit, they still contained money, and they became targets for gangsters and outlaws such as Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker. In the Depression many people, including Texas outlaws, considered robbing banks an admirable thing to do since farmers and tradesmen were losing their livelihoods while the banks foreclosed. According to one biographer of Bonnie and Clyde, "The hardest way to make money was to earn it. Robbery had become a competitive profession (in 1930s), and the underpaid, overworked officers of the law, Federal, State, County, and local, were finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the wave of crime ... It was partly incredible luck, partly timidity and stupidity of some of the officers of the law, but also the repercussions of the Depression that protected Bonnie and Clyde so long from their inevitable end."[10]

Texas outlaws share enough characteristics to be labeled as part of a tradition. While outlaw Sam Bass actually seemed to have been that rarity, an outlaw who sometimes gave to the poor, this fact did not deter his fate which was shared by other Texas outlaws, who were hunted down and executed in ambush. Like Bonnie and Clyde, an informer betrayed him to the Texas Rangers, along with his plans for a bank robbery. He died on his twenty-seventh birthday, admitting that his shooting of a Williamson County deputy sheriff was probably the first killing he ever committed. Other Lone Star outlaws or former desperadoes sometimes known as peace officers met their deaths in circumstances less convivial than a fair fight. John Wesley Hardin was shot in the back of the head by Constable John Selman in a saloon in El Paso. John King Fisher and Ben Thompson, lawmen and outlaws both, were gunned down together in a controversial incident at a San Antonio theatre.

The volumes of books written about Sam Bass exceed the significance of his actual exploits. Like the ballad which embellishes the legacy of Bonnie and Clyde, "The Ballad of Sam Bass," with its various errors of fact, memorializes one of the more mediocre permutations of the Texas outlaw tradition. Every few years the town of Mesquite, near Dallas, puts on a reenactment of a Bass train robbery to celebrate the county fair. It drew 300 participants in 1936. In 1977, the city of Round Rock, the scene of Bass' demise, passed an ordinance to create the Sam Bass Historical Commission to celebrate the Centennial of Sam Bass the following year.[11]

Sam Bass' outlaw career was of relatively short duration, lasting but one year and four months. According to one of Bass' most recent biographers,

"Sam's financial gain from his exploits (in Texas) shows that his crimes did not pay much." Apparently from his first stagecoach robbery on December 20, 1877, to his last train robbery at Mesquite in April 1878, his complete share of the take came to $514.87 over a period of four months.[12]

Bonnie and Clyde helped perpetuate their image as Texas outlaws during a two-year reign of terror between 1932 and 1934. One source described Bonnie as "her own press agent." Like Longley as he awaited his death sentence, Bonnie assaulted Dallas newspaper editors with bits of maudlin verse and news detailing the perambulations of the notorious Barrow gang. Clyde himself was not beneath using the pen to communicate his innermost thoughts, which usually ran the gamut from A to B. He even wrote to Henry Ford to endorse the Ford V-8 automobile, as the only kind he would steal. Despite their reputation as bank robbers during their 1932-1934 killing spree, their targets were more often small town grocery stores. Their myth began to outgrow their exploits while they were still alive, something that rarely occurred in the previous era of Texas outlaws, when they were usually in the grave by the time the legend took on a life of its own. Virtually every bank that was robbed in Depression-era North Texas testified that Bonnie and Clyde were the culprits as if this was a badge of honor.

Texas outlaws did not make the best of prisoners. William Longley became a prolific letter writer while awaiting the hangman in Giddings. Taken to a Galveston jail for safe keeping, Longley's letters appeared in newspapers throughout Texas, lamenting the unfairness of his sentence, that he should hang while John Wesley Hardin, with ten more killings to his credit, would only serve time at Huntsville. Shortly before his execution, one reporter found the admitted killer of over thirty men less jocular than usual, but still in the habit of talking lightly about his misdeeds. He appeared to have gained weight and was reported to have "left off using profane language entirely." Longley became a thorn in the side of the Texas criminal justice system as he attempted to get a new trial, but Governor Richard B. Hubbard would have none of it and Longley met his appointed destiny on time.

A perusal of Hardin's letters in various Texas archives testify to how ill-suited he was for life behind bars as well. His correspondence portrays a man constantly at odds with hard work as well as a world class hypochondriac. His letters include a litany of medical woes. He wrote to the superintendent that he feared that he might have "cancer of the stomach Bright's desease [sic] Heart desease or what else but whatever it is it gives me much pain both mentaly [sic] and physically beyond Description at this present time."[13] Like Clyde Barrow, who was never an enthusiast for hard labor, Hardin wrote to the superintendent of Huntsville Prison, "I have been trying to work – I can do very little. I do not wish to be worked to death – nor punished to death for my inability to do the required work – Unless you see that I am an invalid ... I fear I shall not be able to serve twenty-five years."[14] Hardin would serve all but nine years of his twenty-five year sentence and would be spared a natural death.

Clyde Barrow was as unlucky a prisoner as he was a Texas outlaw. Tired of the monotony and sweat of hard labor at Huntsville's prison and faced with a fourteen-year sentence after his arrest in 1930 for robbery, Clyde had about as much as he could take less than two years into his stint behind the Walls. Convinced that he would rather face the world a cripple than as a laborer, with the assistance of another prisoner he whacked off two of his toes with an axe. Much to his chagrin, a short time later he was paroled and left Huntsville aided by a brace of crutches.

Many of the outlaws during the violence-prone Reconstruction years began their bloodletting early. According to the biographer of John King Fisher, "Biographers of gunmen evidently feel that killings by their heroes while very young add greatly to their reputations."[15] However, credulity is strained when tabulating the scores of human victims left in the wake of Texas gunmen. C.L. Sonnichsen, the stalwart defender of "grassroots history," noted that while John Wesley Hardin had admitted in his autobiography that he had shot forty men, "he did not say how many had recovered," as if it would make him a more commendable human being if he had any less gun notches.[16]

Sonnichsen described Hardin as "one of the most enigmatic characters of our heroic age – a gentleman in manners and appearance, a southerner of good family background, intelligent and polite, a professing Christian who could and did teach Sunday school and tried to instill the highest ideals in his children." Sonnichsen attempts to ascribe his psychopathic tendencies to the bad times of the Civil War. Yet no attempt is made to reconcile the blood lettings of Bonnie and Clyde with the harsh realities of the 1930s. Perhaps it was Hardin's visage – gentlemanly and unpreposing, with a veneer of Southern charm and manners. What can be said of the diminutive Clyde and Bonnie, unmarried-living together in sin, in an age which frowned on such arrangements, physically unmemorable, creatures of reputed perverted sexual appetites, and her exploits as a woman, in an age of murderous men. Yet they were credited with less than one third the victims of the less tarnished Hardin.

The literature written about Texas outlaws encompasses both the academic and the popular, often ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous and steeped in both the worst kind of racist stereotyping as well as the debatable field of psycho-history. There are historical novels written about such multiple killers as John Wesley Hardin. In the novel *Between Loaded Guns*, Reconstruction-era Texas is portrayed as literally that, with more than 3000 outlaws on the loose. It is described as a "historical novel about violence, love, struggle, hardship, humor, and triumphs in East Texas."[17] Hardin is portrayed as a victim of his temper and the hard times of the terrible 1870s. He is a popular figure feared by blacks and carpetbaggers, and revered by his kin and friends as they help protect him from bounty hunters and the hated Texas Rangers. One recent study of John Wesley Hardin with the intriguing title of "John Wesley Hardin, Adolescent Killer: The Emergence of a Narcissistic Behavior Order," can even be found in a work on adolescent psychiatry.[18]

A common trait of Texas outlaws before 1934 was that most killed at least

one law enforcement officer. The Barrow Gang was responsible for twelve homicides, eight of which were law enforcement officers. By 1933 crime had become a national dilemma. That year over 12,000 Americans were murdered, 50,000 robbed, and 100,000 assaulted. A public outcry demanded that law and order be restored. Texas ranked sixth nationwide in crime per capita, but ranked first in the number of peace officers murdered. In 1933, Bonnie and Clyde were responsible for killing two peace officers in Missouri, one in Arkansas, and one in Texas. The following year they added two more in Texas, one in Oklahoma, and a prison guard. In one instance, as Bonnie delivered the *coup de grace* with a sawed off shotgun to one of the officers, a bystander reported she exclaimed "look-a-there, his head bounced just like a rubber ball." The wide publicity given this crime insured that their killing spree was approaching its conclusion.

Texas outlaws such as Bonnie and Clyde were armed with an array of weaponry not seen since the First World War. Their arsenals could outgun those of most small-town police forces. Of these weapons the most recognizable was the Thompson submachine gun, or as it was more popularly known, the "Tommy gun." By the 1930s it had established itself firmly in the public's imagination as the outlaw's gun of choice.[19]

Bonnie and Clyde were as inextricably linked in death as they were in life. Both were born and bred in Texas, not far from Dallas.[20] However, not all of the practitioners of the Texas outlaw tradition were homegrown products. Some of the most famous names associated with the Texas outlaw tradition came from outside the region. Ben Thompson immigrated to Texas from England in 1849 and Sam Bass was born in Indiana, where he spent his early years, before drifting into northeast Texas in 1870. Clay Allison came from Wayne County, Tennessee, arriving in Texas shortly after his service in the Civil War.

Testaments to longevity in both careers and life spans, something not normally associated with the outlaw tradition were Willis and Joe Newton, who formed a gang in the 1910s and were still alive in 1973. According to Willis Newton, "Bonnie and Clyde was just silly kids bound to get theirselves killed. They killed that old sheriff over at Commerce and that was their undoing. We wasn't at all thugs. All we wanted was the money. Just like doctors, lawyers and other businessmen. Robbing banks and trains was our way of getting it. That was our business."[21]

On May 23, 1934, the smell of spring was in the air as six grim-faced men waited beside Highway 154, a few miles south of Gibsland, Louisiana. Concealed behind a large mound of dirt near the roadway were members of various law enforcement agencies under the command of the legendary ex-Texas Ranger Frank Hamer. Hamer had been hired by Lee Simmons, general manager of the Texas Prison System, to track down the Barrow Gang after they killed a guard near Huntsville while helping one of their gang escape the Eastham prison farm.

The 1920s and 1930s had found Texas peace officers over matched by

outlaws when it came to firepower and transportation. But on this day, they thought they were better armed than their opposition. Their arsenal consisted of a machine gun, an automatic rifle, and four shotguns loaded with buckshot. Events determined that the only thing they had in their favor were numbers and surprise. When their withering fusillade had ceased the six lawmen hesitantly approached the car containing their prey. Among the contents of the death car was an array of weapons, vastly superior to their own – a shotgun, eleven pistols, a revolver, three Browning automatic rifles, and more than 2000 rounds of ammunition, as well as fifteen sets of license plates under the rear seat.

Methods of outlaws changed in response to law enforcement. By the deaths of Bonnie and Clyde in 1934, law enforcement had taken steps to meet the challenge. The deaths of Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow in a hail of bullets on a country road in northern Louisiana signalled the end of the Texas outlaw tradition.

Bonnie and Clyde had been the most wanted outlaws in Texas history, yet they were not caught in Texas. While ex-Ranger Frank Hamer was authorized by Huntsville Prison, his status as a peace officer was only temporary. Hardin, Bass, Allison, the Newton Gang, and countless other outlaws were captured or killed by Texas peace officers in a reasonable amount of time, maintaining the confidence of their constituents. But the 1930s clearly called for something more than ranging companies on horseback or peripatetic gunmen with a badge and a Colt.

It was made clear by the exploits of the outlaws in the 1930s that Texas needed a statewide police force with systematic and scientific procedures for collecting and analyzing evidence. Prior to the creation of the Department of Public Safety in 1935, statewide law enforcement in Texas was handicapped in dealing with the new breed of outlaw. Both the Texas Rangers and the Highway Patrol were without a radio communications system, record keeping systems for cataloguing data about criminals such as fingerprints, and laboratory facilities.

When James V. Allred became governor in January 1935, he made good on his campaign pledge to reorganize the state law enforcement apparatus, partially in response to a crime wave sweeping Texas. The Texas Rangers had been labeled as wholly inadequate for the task of statewide law enforcement.

With reorganization under the law that created the Department of Public Safety in 1935, the role of the Texas Rangers in law enforcement was greatly reduced. The Highway Patrol, which previously had been responsible for enforcing traffic and motor vehicle related laws, was given law enforcement duties on par with the Rangers. Among the most important steps taken to improve the quality of state law enforcement was the creation of the Headquarters Division at Austin. Its establishment furnished the state with the means to fashion a modern and efficient law enforcement force. Under the Headquarters Division, the Bureau of Identification and Records functioned as a central repository for fingerprints, photographs, and other data on felons and

other outlaws convicted in Texas after 1935. Ballistics and laboratory work were conducted under this bureau as well. The Bureau of Intelligence collected information on criminal modus operandi, and the Bureau of Education was responsible for specialized training courses for all levels of law enforcement officers in the state. The Bureau of Communications established a statewide police radio network, but a year too late for two Texas highway patrolmen about to be murdered after stopping a stolen car on a country road near Grapevine.[22]

Texas outlaw were products of their time and place, whether it was the post-Civil War or Depression eras. According to one authority on frontier violence, "Their careers perhaps offered a vicarious escape for many Texans who suffered the frustrations of poverty or the endless routine of drab small towns and rural areas." Fortunately, the majority of people living in such conditions found other outlets for their anger and dangerous proclivities, often in the monotony of hard work. While it is the outlaw that is most cherished in the imaginations of many living between the traditions of the Southern and Western frontiers, it should not be lost, according to historian W. Eugene Hollon, "For, along with its outlaws and homicidal maniacs, the Texas wilderness also produced an astonishing number of intelligent, hard working, law-abiding, and even urbane citizens."[23]

The traditional association of outlawry with certain types of criminal behaviors (i.e. bank robbery, train hold-ups) ended with the deaths of Bonnie and Clyde in 1934. That same year it became a federal crime to rob a federal bank, introducing a new variable to the crime fighting process, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. No longer would bank robbery be solely the provence of local and state law enforcement. Instead a two-pronged attack was launched against the roving outlaw gangs of the 1930s. A series of national crime bills passed Congress in May and June 1934, which in addition to making bank robbery a federal crime, added other offenses to the list, many of them characteristic of the outlaw tradition: first, to assault or kill a federal officer became a federal crime, punishable by federal courts and penalties, and second, making bank robbery a federal offense, deprived bank robbers of the device of skipping over state lines, leaving pursuing state police forces who could not follow them at the state line. Since most banks became affiliated with the federal banking system, this provided an almost universal avenue by which the FBI could move against bank robbers.

In the process the crime fighting network, which outlaws had made such a mockery prior to 1934, had been transformed and professionalized – FBI agents were authorized by Congress to carry weapons and given full police powers which they did not have before. The result was that a virtual "who's who" of Depression-era outlaws met their fates at the hands of Tommy-gun toting G-men.

NOTES

[1]Frank Richard Prassel, *The Great American Outlaw: A Legacy of Fact and Fiction,* (Norman, 1993), p. xii.

[2]Ed Bartholomew, *Kill or Be Killed,* (Houston, 1953), p. 7.

[3]Joseph G. Rosa, *The Gunfighter: Man or Myth?,* (Norman, 1979), p. 42.

[4]Charles L. Martin, *A Sketch of Sam Bass, the Bandit,* (Norman, 1956).

[5]Early biographies of Bass include, Thomas Elisha Hogg, *The Authentic History of Sam Bass,* (Denton, 1878); *The Life and Adventures of Sam Bass: The Notorious Union Pacific and Texas Train Robber,* (Dallas, 1878); Charles L. Martin, *A Sketch of Sam Bass, The Bandit,* (Dallas, 1880); *"Hands Up!" or the History of a Crime. The Great Union Pacific Express Robbery,* (Omaha, 1877). The most complete and accurate rendering of his life is Wayne Gard, *Sam Bass,* (NY, 1936).

[6]F. Stanley, *Clay Allison,* (Denver, 1956).

[7]Alexander Fisher, "Minister's Son-of-a-Gun, in *For Men Only* (February 1938), pp. 91-96.

[8]Frontier Native, "Bill Longley and His Wild Career," in *Frontier Times Monthly* 3:9 (January 1926), p. 17.

[9]Paul I. Wellman, *A Dynasty of Western Outlaws* (reprint: New York, 1971). p. 296.

[10]Miriam Allen DeFord, *The Real Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1968).

[11]Colonel Bill Todd, editor, "Publication Project of Sam Bass Centennial Commission (Round Rock, 1978).

[12]Paula Reed and Grover Ted Tate, *Sam Bass and Joel Collins, The Tenderfoot Bandits, Their Lives and Hard Times* (Tucson, 1988), p. 245.

[13]John Wesley Hardin Papers, Hardin to Supt. McCulloch, August 26, 1885, tss., Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, file 2R31.

[14]John Wesley Hardin Papers.

[15]O.C. Fisher with J.C. Dykes, *King Fisher: His Life and Times* (Norman, 1966), p. xi.

[16]John Wesley Hardin, *The Life of John Wesley Hardin, from the Original Manuscript, as Written by Himself* (Seguin, 1896); C.L. Sonnichsen, *The Grave of John Wesley Hardin: Three Essays on Grassroots History* (College Station, 1979), pp. 58-59.

[17]James R. Parrish, *Between Loaded Guns* (Tyler, 1982).

[18]Richard C. Marohn, "John Wesley Hardin, Adolescent Killer: The Emergence of a Narcissistic Behavior Order," in *Adolescent Psychiatry: Developmental and Clinical Studies* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 271-296.

[19]William J. Helmer, *The Gun That Made the Twenties Roar* (Toronto, 1969); John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (Baltimore, 1975).

[20]The literature on Bonnie and Clyde is immense. the following is just a sampling of the materials which range from secondary accounts to recollections by former acquaintances which usually take on an air of hero worshipping. Two of the lawmen who took part in the ambush left accounts: Ted Hinton, *Ambush: The Real Story of Bonnie and Clyde* (Austin, 1979); H. Gordon Frost and John H. Jenkins, *"I'm Frank Hamer"* (Austin, 1968); see also John Treherne, *The Strange Story of Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1984); Miriam Allen deFord, *The Real Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1968); Web Maddox, *Black Sheep* (Quanah, 1975); Myron Quimby, *The Devil's Emissaries* (Cranbury, N.J., 1969); H. Gordon Frost, "Bonnie and Clyde," in *Guns and Gunfighters* (New York, 1982); and Jan I. Fortune, ed., Fugitives. *The Story of Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker. As Told by Bonnie's Mother (Mrs. Emma Parker) and Clyde's Sister (Nell Barrow Cowan)* (Dallas, 1934). Unpublished accounts of interest include Dr. Glenn Jordan, "And the Guns roared: the Death of Bonnie and Clyde;" Debra Sanborn, "The Barrows [sic] Gang's Visit to Dexter;" Vicki Murphy, "A Lousiana Steel Trap: the Death of Bonnie and Clyde;" Gorge F. Bain, "The Barrow Gang" (self-published pamphlet, 1968). W.R. and Mabel Draper, *The Blood-Soaked Career of Bonnie Parker* (Girard, Kansas, 1946).

[21]Willis and Joe Newton, as told to Claude Stanush and David Middleton, *The Newton Boys: Portrait of an Outlaw Gang* (Austin, 1994), p. xi.

[22]Mitchel Roth, *Courtesy, Service, and Protection: The Department of Public Safety* (Dallas, 1995).

[23]W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look* (New York, 1974), p. 55.

"THE CENSORING OF LORENZO SHERWOOD: THE POLITICS OF RAILROADS, SLAVERY AND SOUTHERNISM IN ANTEBELLUM TEXAS"

by John Moretta

Prior to the late 1850s, Texans' values, attitudes, and interests more often reflected those of their former home states than those of their new one. Texans by and large were recent *emigres* clustered into homogenous groups that preserved native folkways and ideals. Less than one-fourth of the population in 1860 could claim residence before statehood in 1845. The immigrants' cohesiveness, the dramatically varied Texas climate and terrain, and the lack of adequate transportation in many portions of the state made the economic interests of Texas as diverse as its population sources. Germans in the Hill Country, *tejanos* in San Antonio, cotton planters from the Lower South along the Brazos or Colorado rivers, or Yankee merchants in Houston or Galveston, had different concerns and values. Then, during the 1850s, a consensus emerged in Texas that reflected the ideology and partisanship of the Lower South. On the surface such empathy seemed impossible. Climate, geography, history, population makeup, and regional characteristics all made Texas appear different from the South, but these differences were not enough to prevent Texans from identifying with the other cotton growing states. In the dozen years after annexation in 1845, the economy, culture, and ideology of the plantation South extended beyond East Texas to influence Texans in all regions of the state. Several years before Texans voted to secede from the Union the majority had become convinced that their society's future status, stability, and prosperity depended in some way upon slavery and the promotion of railroad construction that would further stimulate an already growing cotton-based market economy.

Southern loyalty symbolized more than just a proper reverence for slavery. As Lower South ideology captured more Southern hearts and minds, those opposed to such extremism risked the same sort of public censure or even violence that the most ardent of antislavery men received at the hands of Southern vigilants. Southern radicals commonly applied the epithet *abolitionist* to political enemies who questioned or resisted any expression of Southern rights other than that of the lower South ethos. The same methods used to intimidate or punish racial disloyalty proved equally effective in castigating political dissenters or any other perceived violator of "Southern principles." Southerners were determined to purge from their society individuals or ideas that threatened their social, political, or economic institutions. These vigilant Southerners used a variety of tactics to suppress heresy, or to convince their friends and colleagues of the error of their ways. As a result of their increased identification with the Lower South, Texans displayed the same zeal for ferreting out and disciplining individuals or groups who violated their perception of what should be every white Texans' attitude toward the peculiar

John Moretta lives in Houston, Texas.

institution. Such was the experience of Galvestonian Lorenzo Sherwood and his supporters during Texas' first intrastate "railroad war."

There were two things Texas needed to utilize the millions of acres of potential cotton land: slaves and railroads. The slaves could be obtained by reopening the African slave trade; the railroads could and would be built. According to E.H. Cushing, editor of the Houston *Telegraph,* Texas had close to eighteen million acres suitable for cotton cultivation. Cushing claimed that it would be "criminal folly" to deprive the state of such potential economic greatness. Though Cushing's figures were exaggerated, the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of the Census for 1900 shows that Texans planted 7,360,000 acres in cotton and produced 3,438,000 bales.[1] These figures illustrate the potential in Lone Star cotton production. It is no wonder that throughout the 1850s leading citizens, businessmen, planters, and lawyers flooded local newspapers with long missives insisting that Texas' future prosperity and greatness could not be realized without the building of a vast railway network and the importation of African slaves. Although all Texans agreed on the need for railroads, a great political contest erupted in which the politics of slavery and southernism determined the outcome.

Railroad construction in Texas began in earnest with the chartering in 1850 of the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado line. This road was constructed to bring the staples of the lower Brazos and Colorado valleys to port at Harrisburg. A great boon was the state's acquisition of $10,000,000 in United States bonds. This money was part of the Compromise "package" of 1850; Texas would receive the money for relinquishing claim to eastern New Mexico and other portions of the Southwest. In 1851 Governor Peter H. Bell called for part of the funds to be used in a state-wide internal improvements enterprise that promoted rail and water transportation.[2]

In September 1852 a railroad convention, meeting in Austin, supported Bell's suggestion. The delegates proposed legislation to authorize loans of boundary-settlement bonds to railroad companies. The amount received by the companies was restricted to $12,000 per mile of track. The convention also called for legislation that awarded companies 5,000 acres of land for each mile of road constructed.[3]

Not all Texans approved of the idea of state aid to private railroad enterprises. Two months before the Austin convention, promoters of a state-constructed and owned thousand-mile railroad complex met in Galveston. The proposal's most passionate advocate was Galveston attorney Lorenzo Sherwood, who became one of the most publicly maligned men in *antebellum* Texas because of his "peculiar financial notions" and alleged abolitionism.

Sherwood was born in New York in 1808, became a lawyer at the age of twenty, and for several years served in the state legislature. Before migrating to Texas, Sherwood helped draft a new state constitution for New York in 1846.

While participating in the state constitutional convention, Sherwood

gained a reputation as an opponent of private canal and railroad enterprises and as an advocate for utilizing state credit to finance internal improvements. Sherwood believed that it was wrong for the public to be burdened with the large interest and service costs that private promoters charged to finance, build, and operate needed transportation systems. For his time, Sherwood possessed a remarkable understanding of economics, and much to his adversaries' annoyance, exposed their peculations and sophistries by presenting their financial statements to the public.[4]

In 1846 Sherwood moved his wife, son, and law practice to Galveston and within a few years his firm was handling the affairs of some of the most prominent men in Texas as well as foreign shipping firms carrying trade into Texas. Over the years, Sherwood earned the enmity of several powerful Galvestonians such as Samuel May Williams and Robert Mills, as well as the open hostility of the several railroad-promoting combines then operating in the Lone Star state.[5] By originating and advocating the State Plan, Lorenzo Sherwood set the stage for a rancorous intrastate struggle over competing ideas regarding railroad policy.

The Corporate or State Loan Plan was favored by the majority of railroad developers throughout the state, with the most determined efforts to boost the scheme emanating from Houston. Entrepreneurs, led by William March Rice, Thomas William House, and Henry Sampson, saw railroad construction as their long-awaited opportunity to dethrone Galveston and make Houston the state's leading entrepot. Houstonians, along with other advocates of the plan, wanted the system to be built by private funds. "Corporators" urged the state to grant substantial portions of the public domain as well the extension of loans as incentives to those entrepreneurs willing to undertake the risk of constructing the state's rail system. The promoters recommended that sixteen sections of land and advances as high as $10,000 be given to the companies for each mile of track actually laid. The corporators maintained that generous land grants and loans were essential if Texas hoped to attract domestic investors who would supply the additional money to complete the network.[6]

The majority of speculators behind the Corporate Plan were a loose combination of transcontinental "paper railroaders" – Northeastern "stock jobbers" – out to make handsome returns on Texas railroad bonds circulated in both Europe and the United States. Houston's merchant princes also were attracted to the plan because they saw an opportunity to augment their incomes from a rail system that tied their city to the transcontinental system then being discussed in Congress.

The plan gained initial momentum with the election of Elisha M. Pease as governor in 1853. Pease had endorsed the plan during the campaign, promising as governor that he would support loans and land grants to promote private railroad construction in Texas. Although willing to advance state assistance to private railroad development, Pease simultaneously pushed legislation to protect the state from purely speculative railroad schemes. His program called for all investors to pay a percentage of their stock upon sub-

scription, and no charters would be granted until companies demonstrated possession of sufficient cash to begin construction. Contracts also would designate the exact terminals on the road, the date construction was to begin, and the number of miles of track to be laid annually until the line was completed. Despite his progressive proposals, Pease was committed to private railroad construction sustained by state resources. Thus, in 1854 Pease signed into law one of the most important pieces of *antebellum* railroad legislation: a bill authorizing the state to grant to all companies thereafter sixteen sections of land for each mile of track laid.[7]

The majority of Galveston's business and professional classes supported the Corporate Plan even though Sherwood's State Plan favored the Island City. The mercantile and banking interests of both Houston and Galveston championed the Corporate Plan, hoping to profit by selling railroad contractors essential supplies. Galvestonians, however, were confronted with an interesting predicament: they opposed both a state-controlled system and a Houston-dominated railway, even though Sherwood's plan intimated that the line would be Galveston-centered.[8]

As the railroad debate intensified, it was obvious to all Texans that regardless of which plan was adopted it would either be Houston or Galveston money that financed and controlled the system. Much to Houstonians' delight, Galveston's leaders had no real desire to control the network or any interest in supporting a plan that benefited their city. They were content with their port monopoly. Unfortunately for Galveston, self-interest rather than public interest prevailed among the city's elite, who saw in the Corporate Plan another means of securing their personal fortunes. The zeal with which Galveston's city fathers supported the scheme eventually made Houston the railroad focus of Texas and the center of a Southern transcontinental system and relegated the Island City to a satellite status.

Houston corporate boosters were especially pleased by Governor Pease's decision to pursue his predecessor's recommendation that Texas secure a segment of the possible Southern transcontinental railroad route. In 1853, with Pease's approval, the legislature passed the Mississippi and Pacific Act, which instructed the governor to contract with a company to build an 800-mile road westward through the state at the 32nd parallel. The bill also stipulated that the state would donate twenty sections of public land to the contractors for every mile of track laid, which would total eleven million acres. The company awarded the contract also had to deposit $300,000 in specie or federal or state securities with the state which would be forfeited if at least fifty miles of road were not built within eighteen months.[9]

Only one association, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company of New York, responded. Its directors were rather prominent individuals: Robert J. Walker, former secretary of the treasury during the Polk Administration; Georgia political leader and railroad speculator, T. Butler King; and Anson Jones, long-time Texas lawmaker, entrepreneur, and last president of the Republic of Texas. Within a few months several respected publications such

as the New York *Examiner* and the *American Railroad Journal* reported that the company was a facade for a group of ruthless and penniless speculators out to swindle honest investors to their railroad schemes. After learning of the company's dealings, Pease had reservations about awarding them the contract. After months of negotiation and warnings from Senators Thomas J. Rusk and Sam Houston to "not let these men fasten themselves upon Texas," the governor decided in November 1854 to nullify the state's contract with the consortium after the company failed to deposit the required $300,000.[10]

Although northern and eastern Texans criticized Pease's decision, the majority of citizens applauded the governor's firmness. Public approval of Pease's resistance to the machinations of the A&P helped him to win reelection in 1855. However, Pease's experience with the company made him a less sanguine supporter of the Corporate Plan. Pease almost committed political suicide just before the gubernatorial campaign of 1855 began when he completely reversed his general railroad policy and publicly endorsed Sherwood's State Plan with some modifications. Pease was swayed by the State Plan lobby to conclude that 1200 miles of road could be built with state funds over the next several years, creating a public cost of $19,000,000 owed to private investors. This deficit would be eradicated by an internal improvements tax, sale of public land, and by the appropriation of some of the money obtained by the boundary settlement. Pease's new policy found few enthusiasts outside Galveston. Many interior Texans charged that Pease was in collusion with leading Galvestonians to enrich further the island's already fat commercial interests. Other critics declared that "corporate promotion" such as railroad building was not a proper function of the government, and that similar projects not only failed in other states but in the process left behind a legacy of corruption, fraud, and bitter intrastate rivalry.[11]

Despite public opposition, Pease remained committed to the State Plan with his proposed revisions. He was willing to consider state aid to private contractors if they were regulated properly. He rejected the idea of providing state funds for miles of track completed. For a moment it appeared that State Plan advocates were on the verge of victory when the Texas House's internal improvements committee reported favorably on the proposal. Unfortunately, that was the extent of their endorsement. Legislation sanctioning the state to loan money or iron to railroad companies also was voted down, and the session came to an end on February 1, 1855, without any legislative consensus on railroad policy. Pease was disturbed by the legislature's lack of initiative and immediately announced he would call lawmakers back into session in July.[12]

During the interim both State and Corporate Plan proponents lobbied hard for their respective agendas. Lorenzo Sherwood urged Pease to reject his opponent's claims that the State Plan was all but defeated, and that he should continue being "discreetly active" in its behalf. Sherwood was confident that with "proper exertion" the State plan would emerge victorious after the summer session. Corporate lobbyists counseled Pease to abandon the state system. They reminded the governor that his advocacy of the plan just a few

months earlier nearly cost him reelection. They also impressed upon Pease the fate of Sam Houston, who had destroyed himself politically by opposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act contrary to his constituents' wishes.[13]

It is doubtful that any Corporate Plan supporter was that familiar with early socialist doctrine. They simply used the term for propaganda purposes in their attacks on Sherwood and his plan. Sherwood was no socialist; yet to label him as such created an image of an "outsider" trying to impose upon Texas ideas that were antithetical and subversive to the Jacksonian creed of *laissez faire* capitalism to which most Texans were devoted. In fairness to the corporate faction, Sherwood's "political economy" not only was unorthodox but woefully complex and cumbersome for the more pedestrian Jacksonian economic mind. Corporators saw Sherwood's proposals as wasteful expenditures of public money and felt the private sector could undertake the project more efficiently.

The cornerstone of Sherwood's fiscal program for Texas was his assertion that the institutions of banking and transportation should be founded upon the state's great natural wealth – land – of which Texas had an abundance to offer as security to both foreign and domestic investors for internal improvements. Sherwood also contended that the federal bonds presently sitting in the state treasury were equally attractive to investors. The notes could be used in conjunction with a carefully planned expenditure of the public domain to create a viable credit base for banks and railroads. Sherwood believed once the state established such policies, low-interest foreign loans for railroads and sound paper for banking would flow into Texas as a "natural" result of such prudent management of state resources. Sherwood warned that if the Corporators had their way, "our public lands, public money, and later the public credit would be exhausted piecemeal, and the consequences would be the horrible, selfish exploitation of the public domain and the corruption of legislators, governors, and whomever else may fall victim to their falsehoods and deceptions."[14]

Sherwood also contended that the general concept of incorporation as it had evolved in the 1850s had brought "nothing but disorder and conflict." If Texans hoped to prevent the Corporators from taking control of the state "with their slander and machinations," then the people must be willing to create a state-regulated system of finance and internal improvements. Sherwood insisted that all corporate property should be regulated by law to accept liability for the acts of its agents. "Let us adopt a constitutional provision making the stockholders in all corporations, created for business profit, personally responsible for the debts of the company; and we would have no more trouble from them than we would from mosquitoes or horse flies, when the mercury stood at zero." Sherwood always closed his editorials and public addresses by reminding his audience that the fate of Texas banking and transportation was ultimately in their hands. The people were "the one arena, the one tribunal on earth where it is possible to check its (the corporation's) overgrowth and awe it into subjection and decency."[15]

The Corporators found a particularly receptive forum for their campaign

against Sherwood in the editorial columns of the Houston *Telegraph*. The paper's editor, E.H. Cushing, was one of the faction's most determined and vitriolic members. In numerous editorials Cushing attacked Sherwood and the State Plan from every possible angle, even accusing the New Yorker of using his program for personal gain. "How much money do Sherwood and his disciples expect to get out of the State Plan? If Mr. Sherwood's ideas were ever to become a reality, all manner of corruption would be introduced into the Legislative body." Cushing was convinced that state funds would be "squandered in reckless and extravagant expenditure," and that it would be impossible to determine "who of Sherwood's lackeys would be on the receiving end of this endeavor."[16]

Despite the attacks by Cushing and others, the project remained popular with most Galvestonians and with a majority of mainland Texans who had been suspicious of promoters from the outset. Most Texans were more interested in getting the lines operating than in securing a profit or advantage from their construction. Sherwood further augmented his growing support by vigorously exploiting his talents as an extremely skillful and scholarly debator whose knowledge of economics and public transportation, especially railroads, was overwhelming. Together with his invaluable ally, publisher Willard Richardson of the Galveston *News*, the New Yorker appeared invincible. Richardson's paper enjoyed one of the widest circulations in the state, and through it Sherwood broadly disseminated his views. Between April and July 1856, Sherwood, Richardson, and other State Plan advocates filled the *News* with spirited commentaries. As summer approached, the Corporate faction concluded that if Sherwood was not silenced their Loan Bill would fail. The Corporator's anxiety intensified when Governor Pease publicly endorsed Sherwood's agenda. With such support a State Plan victory seemed inevitable.

If there was one area where Shewood was vulnerable it was on the issue of slavery – a subject on which he was portrayed as having "unsound" attitudes. In the fall of 1855 Sherwood publicly debated Louis T. Wigfall, a rabid secessionist, and long-time Texas politico and "southron," Dr. Ashbel Smith. It was from the context of that discussion that the Loan men based their accusations. By June 1856, Sherwood was called a "Negro-loving abolitionist, a low cunning political viper," who secretly was being "pensioned by his Northern allies to help spread their incendiary doctrine of negro abolitionism across Texas." Sherwood was a "Northern intruder" whose "years of study had enabled him to tell lies with statistics." No matter how legitimate Sherwood's agenda might be, no Texan should listen to a man who failed to take "a sound Southern tone on slavery." It was time for loyal Texans to "strip the false hearted pretensions to public welfare paraded" by an individual who was "really a negro-loving abolitionist."[17] The Houston *Telegraph* went so far as to question the southernism of Galvestonians, whom, it declared, "astonished" other Texans by their support of the "insidious machinations and other acts of humbuggery by Sherwood on railroad matters." If Islanders did not rid themselves of Sherwood, they would be confirming in the minds of loyal

Texans that Galvestonians were not to be "trusted," for they had "forsaken their Southern heritage" and joined the ranks of Sherwood's abolitionists.[18]

To what degree Sherwood was genuinely "unsound" on the issues of slavery, secession, and the African slave trade was moot. Closer scrutiny of the October debate between Smith, Wigfall, and Sherwood revealed that the New Yorker was opposed to slavery's expansion but not the institution. Sherwood made it perfectly clear that he had "no desire to interfere with the institution in States where it now existed." Moreover, living in the South had convinced Sherwood "that there was much that was good in the institution of slavery—it is neither all black nor all white." Any decision to abolish slavery "must come from the people in their sovereign capacity," and Southerners must never be "threatened with the use of force in order to have them relinquish their slaves." Sherwood even believed that most slaveholders and Southern whites in general "never pretended to vindicate slavery in the abstract." It was an "evil" that had been "introduced without the fault of the present generation." Sherwood, however, admitted that he would be "most gratified" if slavery was abolished. Although Sherwood was willing to tolerate slavery as a temporary labor system, human bondage was unacceptable as a permanent institution because of the incongruity it represented for a democratic society. Sherwood saw the reopening of the African slave trade as the "conspiracy of a few fanatics and mercenaries" who not only hoped to profit from the sale of human flesh, but to perpetuate as well a labor system that denigrated "all white men" and kept the South "a backward and isolated region."[19]

Sherwood was not alone in his opposition to the reopening of the trade. Other prominent Galvestonians and Texans also tried to block legislation that would resurrect "an evil piracy," as Judge John H. Reagan called it. Joining Sherwood in a coalition to "silence this reckless discussion," were fellow Galvestonians Judge James Love, Oscar Farish, Ferdinand Flake, editor of the German weekly *Die Union,* Hamilton Stuart, editor of the Galveston *Civilian,* and Judge Peter Gray of Houston. These individuals challenged every argument in favor of the trade, even the assertion that reopening of the slave trade would "make good Christians of them (the Africans) and raise them to the level of our negroes. The work is one of philanthropy and patriotism."[20] That the federal laws against the trade were "impeding God's work," Hamilton Stuart replied "that no greater insult could be made upon the intelligence of the People of Texas than that recently made in the *Telegraph*, that the importing of Africans would be their Salvation. Any church going Texan who believes that the reopening of the slave trade would Christianize African negroes, has succumbed to a double-faced plea of self-interest among slave traders and planters whose only concern is for individual profit."[21]

On the question of secession Sherwood was a staunch Unionist. He warned Southerners "not to take a position so novel and ultra that it cannot be measured by the Constitution." There were "fourteen million" Northerners who opposed "any such talk" and would be ready "to defend the Constitution and the rights of the Federal Government to preserve and enforce its laws."[22]

Sherwood was a supremely self-confident individual who refused to succumb to "such blackhearted falsehoods." He dramatically and cogently defended his position in public forums and deflected his critics' every invective. The more he was denounced as an abolitionist, the more determined Sherwood was not to capitulate. He accused his adversaries of making "'nigger politics' your tilting ground. Will you tell the people what that has to do with the Internal Improvements Policy of the State? The People know I am no negrophile and that I am as loyal to the State as even the oldest of men who have resided here since its inception." Sherwood's critics ignored his queries and continued calling him "a wise-acre and a nigger lover," asserting that Texans would never agree with him either on his "nigger politics" or on his State Plan. "Can't you take a hint and leave?" Sherwood countered by telling Texans that his chief "pettifoggers" were "Loan men" whose sense of honor and decency has been so corrupted by their desire for profit that "they will engage in the most vile endeavors to have their way." If the Corporators "reckless schemes" were "fastened upon the People and Legislature," they would then bilk the state treasury "in order to make their worthless paper good."[23]

Since Sherwood refused to abandon his campaign for his railroad plan, the Corporators concluded that the only way to defeat the State Plan and pass their own was to force Sherwood to resign from the state legislature. The Corporators agreed that the most expedient means of accomplishing that objective was to intimidate Sherwood's disciples into withdrawing their pro-state support. By accusing Sherwood of being an abolitionist and an arrant traitor to Southern principles, the Corporators hoped to destroy his support among various groups of Texans, whom they hoped would abandon Sherwood for fear of being labeled disloyal as well. The Corporators extended their epithets to include anyone associated with "this intruder from the North." The Corporators also wanted to make sure that Sherwood would have "restricted" opportunities to address public gatherings.[24]

Sherwood was aware of his opponents' strategy. Hoping to counter their plan of removing him from the legislature, Sherwood and his more loyal supporters – those friends who had not been shaken by the charges of abolitionism – called for a meeting on the Island on July 7, 1856, to give Sherwood the opportunity to defend his railroad plan and answer his critics.[25]

The Loan men realized that their bill's only chance of being enacted was to prevent Sherwood from addressing the people of Galveston. They had but one day to rally their forces. They wasted no time in formulating a plan. On the morning of July 7 a meeting of "concerned citizens" was "convened to take into consideration the propriety of permitting Lorenzo Sherwood to address the people in defense of his course in the last legislature." Although the Corporators tried to conceal their true motive behind the facade of "public concern," the purpose of this special convocation was to censure Lorenzo Sherwood. After explaining to the audience why the meeting was called, William Pitt Ballinger read a letter he had drafted to Sherwood, which he would deliver to "this intruder from New York." Ballinger's message was a demand for Sherwood's resignation for the legislature.[26]

Ballinger made it clear to Sherwood in his ultimatum that he "was not acting alone" and that he had the full support of not just prominent Galvestonians but of a "good number" of Texans throughout the state who were as concerned "as we are here of your lack of Southern principles." Ballinger warned Sherwood that "neither you, nor anyone entertaining your views" would be allowed to address the public "either directly or indirectly on the subject of slavery." Ballinger declared that Sherwood's opinions on slavery, "whether expressed in a private or public setting," would no longer be tolerated. Sherwood already had "tried the patience" of Texans on the issue, and it was obvious he had "no congeniality with them on that question." Ballinger recognized that Sherwood had "some supporters in this community," but if he attempted to test the situation by trying to discuss slavery before a Galveston audience, then "the people of this City will come forth and make this evening the occasion for the definite and final settlement of that issue, both as to you and to them." Ballinger concluded his message by reminding Sherwood that any subsequent statements pertaining to slavery would be "the prompt signal for consequences to which we need not allude."[27]

After Ballinger's message was approved by fellow Corporators, Ballinger, Samuel May Williams, Benjamin C. Franklin, and Colonel Ephraim McLean delivered the ultimatum to the "intruder." The committee told Sherwood that if after reading Ballinger's letter, he attempted to hold his meeting, he would be "visited" where he was speaking and "all possible means" would be "exercised to prevent you from addressing the people of Galveston."[28] The Corporators' stratagem was to make it appear that Sherwood only was being denied the right to speak on the issue of slavery. By focusing on Sherwood's alleged "abolitionist beliefs," which Ballinger claimed his message was preventing Sherwood from propagating, the Corporators created the impression that Sherwood's right of free speech was not being violated because he was still "allowed" to address other subjects.

At this critical juncture Sherwood's most important and loyal ally, Williard Richardson of the Galveston *News,* repudiated his old friend and colleague. Richardson's defection was a fatal blow to Sherwood's cause and the Corporators were delighted. For several days prior to the meeting, the Corporators has tried to persuade Richardson to abandon Sherwood by reminding the editor that his support had caused many Galvestonians "to suspect your loyalty to Southern principles." It was time for Richardson to decide whether he was "a true and devoted son of the South and all that it stands for," or whether he had "betrayed" his heritage and had allied himself "with this Northern abolitionist and socialist."[29] Even though Richardson endorsed Sherwood's railroad policies, he always made it clear that he opposed the New Yorker's stand on slavery. Despite publicly denouncing Sherwood's position on slavery, Richardson realized that continued support of his railroad agenda could cause the financial ruin of his paper. The last thing Richardson wanted was to be the next recipient of one of the elite's "vigilance" letters. To abandon so abruptly Sherwood at this crucial moment was a painful decision for Richardson. Nonetheless, when confronted with the reality of

economic and political survival, Richardson chose the secure and practical rather than the idealistic course.

The response of Hamilton Stuart, editor of the Galveston *Civilian,* to this same crisis was dramatically different. Although opposing Sherwood throughout the decade on a variety of issues, Stuart believed that the censuring was morally wrong. Stuart was not known for his boldness of action; yet he came forward and defended Sherwood's right of free speech. Stuart also led a group of citizens in protest from the meeting. Later, it was Stuart's *Civilian* and not Richardson's *News* that published and distributed Sherwood's explanation of his views.[30]

Confronted with either submission or possible physical reprisal, Sherwood concluded that "wisdom was the better part of valor" and resigned as Galveston's delegate to the state legislature. Although defeated, Sherwood was determined not to allow his "course to be misconstrued." In a broadside printed by Stuart, Sherwood wanted it known that "for the peace and harmony of the community" he was willing to "waive for the present, the vindication of myself against the attacks of all those who have opposed me on this issue."[31]

For a brief moment it appeared that Sherwood and his supporters would receive prompt vindication. Ignoring Sherwood's request to let the matter die, his most loyal followers retaliated against the Corporators by circulating a petition on the island demanding that State Senator M.M. Potter, one of Sherwood's most vitriolic critics, publicly "clarify" his stand on the railroad controversy. The petition placed Potter in a compromising position: he recently was elected to the legislature based on his support of the Galveston plan. Williard Richardson earlier had proposed an idea that became known as the "Galveston plan" which maintained that the contours of Texas geography, especially the Gulf Coast, "necessitated" a fanlike convergence of all Texas lines to Galveston. Richardson did not particularly care whether such a system was built by private or public funds. But as Sherwood's friends revealed, Potter and others, all supposed advocates of the Galveston plan, for several months had assisted private railroad interests as lobbyists, "throwing money around in Austin in hopes of securing contracts for railroad builders out of New York." As James Love confided to Thomas Jack, "Potter & the others are acting foolishly – they throw themselves at the feet of these moguls from N.Y. as if they were some sort of royalty. It is disgraceful. The Govr. is very wary of these men and I don't believe any contracts will be forthcoming for them." The funds Potter and his associates dispensed were provided by Robert Walker and T. Butler King, who had reorganized the old Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company into the Texas Western, and now pressed hard for a charter to build an east-west line through the state.[32]

Potter was not about to let Sherwood get the best of him. He quickly counterattacked by condemning the petition as one more "purulent" attempt by the "abolitionist and socialist" Sherwood to impose his ideas upon "the unsuspecting and honest people of Texas." Potter shrewdly declared that he "forgave" those Galvestonians who signed the petition because they were

unaware that "its design was to once more vilify all those who had opposed his (Sherwood's) radical schemes to bring down upon our State, corruption, extravagance, and abolitionism."[33]

The final blow to the State Plan was Governor Elisha M. Pease's decision that continued endorsement in the face of Sherwood's censorship in Galveston could prove politically suicidal. Now that Sherwood was silenced by the Corporators, the State Plan was dead and Pease could withdraw his support without losing credibility. With Sherwood out of the way, when the legislature reconvened that summer it quickly passed a bill loaning railroad companies $6,000 of United States bonds in the permanent school fund for every mile of road built to assist further construction. Pease allowed the measure to become law without his signature. On August 13, 1856 the Loan Bill became law. Henceforth Texas railroads would be built by private enterprise generously aided by the state.[34]

By using the slavery issue the Corporators succeeded in destroying their ablest antagonist. As the experience of Lorenzo Sherwood confirmed, by the 1850s men who in any way questioned the "sanctity" of slavery were destined to suffer all manner of public humiliation, censorship, ostracism, and even death in extreme cases. From the moment he arrived from New York in 1846, Sherwood was viewed to be outside the political and cultural mainstreams of Texas society. Despite his statements to the contrary, by the time of the railroad controversy Sherwood's "northernism" made him vulnerable to his adversaries' charges of abolitionism and disloyalty to the South. No matter how forthright and sound the individual and his ideas, if they were perceived to threaten any aspect of Southern life or values, they would be subject to the same sort of reprisals as any other traitor to Southern communities. The censoring of Lorenzo Sherwood in 1856 was clearly the manifestation of Texans' identification with the Lower South ethos of the late 1850s and its aggressive vigilance to purge from Southern society all individuals and ideas that in any way challenged the virtue of Southern social, economic, and political institutions.

Notes

[1]"Texas Cotton Acreage, Production, and Value," United States Department of Agriculture, U.S. Bureau of the Census, printed in *Texas Almanac*, 1958-1959, Houston *Telegraph*, March 21, 1859.

[2]Roger A. Griffin, "Antebellum Texas: Railroad Fever in a New State," in Ben Procter and Archie P. McDonald, eds. *The Texas Heritage* (St. Louis, 1980), pp. 69-70.

[3]Griffin, "Antebellum Texas Railroad Fever," p. 70.

[4]Griffin, "Antebellum Texas Railroad," p. 70; Census Rolls, Galveston, Tx., 1850; William Pitt Ballinger, Diary, June 17, 1859 (Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tx); De Alva Stanwood Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (2 vols., New York, 1906), II, pp. 90-113; Herbert D. A. Donovan, *The Barnburners*, (New York, 1925), pp. 74-89; Williard Richardson, *Galveston Directory*, 1859-1860 (Galveston, 1859), 27.

[5]Earl Wesley Fornell, *The Galveston Era* (Austin, 1961), p. 164.

[6]Fornell, *The Galveston Era,* pp. 160-162; 62; Houston *Telegraph,* April 9, 16, 30, 1856; August 22, August 1859; Also see David G. McComb, *Houston: A History* (Austin, 1969), pp. 26-28.

[7]Texas, *Senate Journal,* 5th Legislature, pp. 17-19; Executive Record Book, No. 276, 22-24. For a more detailed discussion of Pease's railroad policies, see Roger A. Griffin, "Governor E. M. Pease and Texas Railroad Development in the 1850s, *East Texas Historical Journal* 10 (Fall, 1972), pp. 103-118.

[8]Houston *Telegraph,* June 23, 1856; July 20, 1857.

[9]Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 329-330; H.P.H. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (Austin, 1898), IV, pp. 7-13; address of T. Butler King, printed in Austin *Texas State Gazette,* January 7, 1854; Texas *Senate Journal,* 5th Legislature, p. 17; proclamation, January 18, 1854; Executive Record Book No. 276, pp. 31-34; Austin *Texas State Times,* February 3, 1855.

[10]Elisha M. Pease to Thomas Jefferson Rusk, March 10, July 15, 1854; Rusk to Pease, March 30, June 24, 1854; Sam Houston to Pease, June 22, 1854; T. Butler King to Rusk, April 1, 1854, Thomas Jefferson Rusk Papers, Barker Texas History Center, Univ. of Texas at Austin; Andrew Forest Muir, "The Thirty-Second Parallel Pacific Railroad in Texas to 1872," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Texas at Austin, 1949), pp. 25-26; "Editorial Notes, *American Railroad Journal,* 26 (November 12, 1853), pp. 728 and 27 (June 24, 1854), p. 396; James B. Shenton, *Robert John Walker: A Politician from Jackson to Lincoln* (New York, 1961), pp. 62-63, 133-136; Edward M. Steel, *T. Butler King of Georgia* (Athens, 1964), pp. 8-64.

[11]Austin *Texas State Gazette,* November 11, 18, December 9, 12, 1854; Pease to Michel B. Menard and others, Galveston *Civilian,* April 3, 1855. Pease's letter was reprinted in the Austin *Texas State Gazette,* April 28, June 9, 1855. Also see M. B. Menard and others to Pease, Galveston *Civilian,* February 19, 1855; Fornell, *The Galveston Era,* p. 158.

[12]Clarksville *Standard,* December 1, 8, 16, 1855, January 12, 1856; Marshall *Texas Republican,* December 1, 1855; Texas *House Journal,* 6th Legislature, regular session, pp. 401-402.

[13]Lorenzo Sherwood to Pease, February 27, March 11, 1856, Elisha M. Pease Papers (Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Tx); Paul Bremond to Pease, April 5, 1856, *Governor's Records,* Texas State Archives, Austin, Tx.

[14]Galveston *News,* June 4, 1857. Also see the Sherwood Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. This collection consists of a scrapbook of some dated but mostly undated newspaper and magazine articles written by Sherwood throughout the 1850s on various railroad issues. Since it is impractical to cite these items by date or page, the references hereafter will be noted as Sherwood Collection. Also see Sherwood, "Agencies to be Depended upon in Constructing Internal Improvements," No. 1. Statesmanship – What is it?" *De Bow's Review* XIX (July 1855), pp. 81-88; and "Agencies to be Depended on in the Construction of Internal Improvements, with Reference to Texas, by a Texan, No. 2." *De Bow's Review* XIX (August 1855), pp. 201-205.

[15]Austin *State Gazette,* December 13, 1853; Clarksville *Standard,* February 18, 1855; also see Sherwood Collection.

[16]Houston *Telegraph,* April 16, May 7, 14, 19, June 23, 25, 1856.

[17]Houston *Telegraph,* June 25, 30, 1856; Clarksville *Standard,* March 10, December 29, 1855; Austin *State Gazette,* December 1, 1856.

[18]Houston *Telegraph,* August 4, 1856.

[19]Dallas *Herald,* October 15, 1855; Austin *State Gazette,* October 23, 1855. Also see a printing of Sherwood's speech delivered at a political convention held in Galveston on January 21, 1848, in which he first expressed the opinions that he reiterated in his debate with Wigfall and Smith seven years later. Galveston *News,* February 2, 1848.

[20]Fornell, *The Galveston Era,* pp. 221-226; Houston *Telegraph,* March 18, July 1, 1857. For other examples of Pro-slave trade editorials, see Galveston *News,* August 6, 8, 22, 29, September 5, 1857.

[21]Galveston *Civilian,* December 28, 1858. Also see similar comments made by Judge Peter Gray in Houston Telegraph, July 4, 13, 1859.

[22]Dallas *Herald,* October 15, 1855.

[23]Houston *Telegraph,* May 19, 1856.

[24]Galveston *News,* June 18, 1856.

[25]Fornell, *The Galveston Era,* p. 175.

[26]Galveston *News,* July 9, 11, 1856.

[27]See a draft copy of Ballinger's letter to Sherwood in his personal papers for June-August 1856 in Ballinger Papers (Barker Texas History).

[28]Ballinger, draft copy; also see Ballinger to Guy Bryan, July 8, 1856, Ballinger Papers, Barker Texas History Center; Galveston *News,* July 7, 9, 11, 1856. Frederick Law Olmstead, traveling through Texas during the mid-1850s, witnessed Sherwood's censoring at the hands of Galveston's elite and wrote about it in the appendix of the 1857 edition of his *Journey Through Texas,* pp. 505-506.

[29]M.M. Potter to Richardson, July 14, 1856. Copy of letter found in William Pitt Ballinger and Associates Papers, Miscellaneous Letters, 1854-1874 (Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston, Tx).

[30]Fornell, *Galveston Era,* p. 177; Galveston *Civilian,* July 12, 1856.

[31]Galveston *Civilian* July 12, 1856. Also see complete copy of Sherwood's broadside in Ballinger papers for July 1856.

[32]Houston *Telegraph* July 14, 1856; James Love to Thomas Jack, July 17, 1856, Ballinger & Assoc. Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center.

[33]Houston *Telegraph,* August 4,1856; Austin *State Gazette,* August 1, 1856; Sherwood Collection.

[34]Houston *Telegraph,* August 16, 1856; Austin *Texas State Gazette,* August 13, 1856; Richardson, *Texas Almanac,* 1860, pp. 129, 132-134; Gammel, *Laws of Texas,* IV, p. 449.

JOHN MARSHALL CLAIBORNE
SOLDIER - CONFEDERATE SPY - POLITICIAN - EDITOR

by Jane Leslie Newberry

In the old section of Cedar Hill Cemetery in Rusk, Texas, two weathered concrete tombs are shaded by several gnarled magnolia trees. The tombs, connected to each other, are enclosed by a rusted, dilapidated iron fence. Although the lot is large enough for six or eight graves, the tombs rest alone. Susan Mary Phillips Claiborne and John Marshall Claiborne have claimed this place for almost a century.

John Marshall Claiborne lived and loved the life of a soldier. These words are written on his tombstone:

> *The muffled drum' s [sic] sad roll*
> *Has beat this soldier's last tattoo*
> *And his proud form in battle gashed*
> *Is free from anguish now.*

Claiborne died on April 28, 1909, finally defeated at seventy years old by a stoke. In his will he firmly stated his philosophy of life: "I die with few regrets ... to my state and country I have conscientiously discharged every duty required of me, but hold in more reverence the deeds done and performed during the four years of the War between the States than all other acts of not an uneventful life." Then Claiborne included a cryptic message that indicates some agonizing moments of his life: "I freely forgive all who have dispitfully[sic] used me. I may have done my fellow man wrong as I hate demagogy in state and the 'humbug' in religion – for any wrongs in this, may the injured and my God forgive me."[1]

The old soldier left few legacies except his written word – much of which has been destroyed. The remaining material reveals a unique and imposing individual in conflict with society whose life never seemed to fit into a patterned mold.

The mysteries that surround the life of John Marshall Claiborne have led to this research of his background, experiences as a soldier and spy, his three children, and his two marriages.

Claiborne's tombstone reads, "General," the rank granted to him when he served as major general of the Texas Volunteer Guard long after the Civil War. Had it not been for a lack of communication during the war, Claiborne's name might have been listed with other Confederate generals.[2]

Claiborne was born in Gibson County, Tennessee, on February 27, 1839. He was the oldest child of Phillip and Mary Billingsly Claiborne. Phillip, usually known as "Phil," was a lawyer born in Virginia. Mary Billingsly, the daughter of Jeptha and Miriam Randolph Billingsly, moved with her family to Tennessee from Cooper County, Missouri, about 1827. In the middle 1840s,

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Jane Leslie Newberry lives in Shreveport, Louisiana.

the Billingslys and the Claibornes moved to Bastrop, Texas, a frontier town located near Austin, Texas. In an area still suffering from the pangs of birth as a free country and now a part of the United States, John Marshall Claiborne grew to manhood.[3]

Conflict between the Texans and wealthy Mexican aristocrats brought the Texas Rangers to the aid of the Anglos during the infamous "Cortina Uprising" in 1859. These Rangers already had played an important role in Texas history during the war with Mexico, 1846-1848. Juan Nepomcina Cortina, called the "Red Robber of the Rio Grande," was defeated after a "Mexican Standoff" when the Texas Rangers and the American forces headed by Lt. Robert E. Lee, forced him across the Mexican border.

During this "uprising" the Texas Rangers created the famous combination Indian war whoop and Mexican *grito* later called the "Rebel Yell."[4] It was to these activities that John Claiborne was reportedly drawn as a member of the Rangers in 1859. Unfortunately, although Claiborne stated that he was a Ranger, no documentation has been located.

Many members of this fighting group entered the army of the Confederacy where some became part of "Terry's Texas Rangers."[5] When a call was made for volunteers by the 8th Texas Cavalry in August 1861, Claiborne enlisted as a private on September 7 in Houston, Texas. Already an adventurer, he was twenty-three years old and described as 5'10½" tall, with light hair and gray eyes. In just thirty days, 1193 men, armed and equipped, responded to that call. This group became Company D, Terry's Texas Rangers, or the 8th Regular Texas Rangers. The famed 8th Texas Rangers "rebel yelled" their way through Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Atlanta, Nashville, Chickamauga, Shelbyville, Waynesboro, Georgia, Bentonsville, North Carolina, and other skirmishes. According to T. R. Fehrenbach, Terry's Texas Rangers were never excelled for their reckless mobility and heroic dash. Two-third's of the Rangers were killed.[6]

According to Confederate records, Claiborne became ill shortly after he enlisted and was in a private hospital suffering from rubella from October 15, 1861, until November 23, 1861. He received a $25.00 payment for that hospital stay at Camp Hardee in February 1862.

Even though the records are adequate for Terry's Texas Rangers, John Marshall Claiborne's Confederate service record is incomplete. After his bout with measles, he returned to duty at Camp Hardee. Official CSA records show that Claiborne was on detached duty from January 5, 1862, until June 8, 1862, for which he received $114.76. He was again on detached duty from August 22, 1862, until September 21, 1862, for which he received $22.00. These documents were signed by John A. Whorton, commander of the 8th Texas Cavalry. This detached duty may have been Claiborne's first scouting or spying experience.[7]

Claiborne wrote concerning the Texas Rangers in an article that appeared in the *Confederate Veteran*, January 1897. He described Terry's Texas Rangers

as a unique group of men who frequently were spoken of by the Federal troops as *"centaurs, mamelukes, and devils."* He stated that the Rangers were not brigaded, but were attached to divisions for specific duty, principally to teach other cavalry how to ride and fight. Claiborne quoted a Federal cavalry commander, who, when asked what troops he had engaged in the early morning, replied, "I don't know; either devils or Texas Rangers, from the way they rode and fought."[8]

Although the official records have little mention of them, and even General John Bell Hood made no reference to them in *Advance and Retreat,* one of the most important assignments for some members of the Rangers was that of scout. Scout, in essence, meant, spy.

These hardened and seasoned men were first known as an intelligence gathering organization. Hood named Alexander May Shannon, famous for his exploits behind enemy lines, to reconnoiter General William T. Sherman's army on its march through Georgia and the Carolinas. It seemed to be this type of action that enthralled Claiborne, and he became Hood's spy before the Tennessee campaign.

The most accurate account available concerning Claiborne's career as a spy appeared in the *Confederate Veteran*, Volume IX, page 31, in 1901. Written by John M. Claiborne and entitled, "Secret Service for General Hood," this article explains some of his secret actions.

> July 18, 1864, I reported to Gen John B. Hood, in front of Atlanta, GA, as a subaltern for the special duty of secret service, having on my own account served successfully in that time simply in an adventurous way, neither in quest of fame or glory, but simply to gratify a thirst for fun and a desire for adventure.
>
> After the disastrous battle of July 22 in front of Atlanta, I began to gratify myself in this most dangerous duty in the life of a soldier. In it there is more thrill than in any other service. It was to me perfectly fascinating. When Gen. Hood reached the vicinity of Trenton, GA on his way into Tennessee, he called me to him - just after I had returned from a ten days' scout in the enemy's country - and said, "I want you to pick three men whom you can trust, and I will give you the soldiers necessary to reach from your field of operations to the army, stationed ten miles apart." He then informed me of what he was moving at that time toward Tuscumbia, Ala. I picked my men, and the four of us left at midnight for the Tennessee River, across the mountains in the direction of Cottonport, above Florence, Ala where we were to begin observations and operations. After the courier company reported, I began to blaze the way into Middle Tennessee on untraveled lines, leaving men from ten to twelve miles apart, the last being left in the hills near the home of a Mr. Massie, a few miles from Franklin; my three trustees and myself making a rendezvous near the iron bridge on Harpeth. We accepted two days and nights finding whom we could "swear by." I place my trust in Tennessee girls, and never was faith better founded.
>
> The third night I spent in the town of Franklin, while one of the boys picketed in "Hollow Tree Gap [or Dug Hallow], across the river near the

road to Nashville. He also went over to the Cumberland River to outlook, while the other kept the tryst, paying a night visit to the Spring Hill country in the rear. Our batch of information was put in the hands of the courier line, and sent on to Gen. Hood. I called on two young ladies about midnight to get their aid in opening a way into Nashville, and in them I found accomplices that were never excelled. They were indeed "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." They were half-sisters, and the brother and half-brother of each were with Gen. Cheatham. They were willing, anxious, and alert. I had gold, and they knew how to use it successfully.

We were now "burning daylight." Twenty days had gone since leaving Hood, five of them right among the enemy, and yet not even an adventure. But Nashville, Triune, Eagle Grove, Nolensville, Murfreesboro, Edgefield, Gallatin, and Lebanon were to be looked carefully over. The girls got off early the next morning with butter, eggs, and other products of the farm, with an old dilapidated horse cart and a chart to be filled out. They had a list of articles that we needed — disguises being their main purpose. Soon the boys got away on the duty of thirty-six hours. They were to rendezvous near the old Overton place, six miles from Nashville. In this neighborhood the writer had acquaintances, among them "sweet sixteeners" and a lovely and patriotic old maid. Any of them were as ready to give aid and information as I was to get it. To these women of Williamson and Davidson Counties monuments should be erected.

The ladies having executed splendidly every trust, it then devolved[sic] on us to dare the risk of the execution of our mission, that of spying into the camp of the enemy. To me fell the lot of going into Nashville to locate the forts and make plots of approaches, etc. Suffice it to say, I did so and successfully. I danced at a party at Brig. Gen. Miller's, who was the chief quartermaster [or commissary]. Going home with his daughter, I was shown the fortifications by a Federal officer, and met and discussed the war and its conduct with prominent officers.

I made my report to Gen. Hood, at Columbia, Tenn., three days before the battle of Franklin. I left Nashville at night, riding the horse of some general officers, judging from the trappings. At daylight, I passed through Franklin, locating the forts on the river. I selected a suitable point a few miles above Franklin to put the pontoon bridge, never dreaming of a fight being made at Franklin or Nashville, but expected we would invade Kentucky, and have many thousands of men to join us in the invasion. How I managed is of so personal a nature that I will not detail it. I have since learned that I was in great danger, but I did not know it then.

From the 22nd day of July to the 12th day of December, I used every character known to man, from a negro field hand in his dotage to an intelligent preacher. I received for this service the private commendation of the most glorious of men, John B. Hood, also three gilt starts with the half wreath later on. Pierce de Graffenried, George Arthur, and Emmit Lynch were the aids I had with me. They have all passed over the river. Lynch was killed in battle; De Graffenried died in Nashville a few years ago. We did some things that were not creditable to our hearts, but they seemed necessary. We afterwards concluded never to refer to them, as for twenty years after we would have been subject to the rope. In this cautious way it

does not carry the true thrill of adventure, but I write it specially to pay tribute to the Tennessee women of Williamson and Davidson Counties.

We recrossed the Tennessee river at Florence, Ala., on January 1, 1865, and Hood resigned at Tuscumbia the next day, a victim to the duty of a soldier obeying orders [against his judgment] of his superior officer at Richmond."[9]

In 1882, Claiborne identified Archer and Lynch in a Texas Ranger's roster he prepared. George Archer was alive in 1880, living in Mexia, Texas. J. Emmit Lynch died near Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1865, and was the last Texas Ranger killed in the war. There was no mention of De Graffenried. Claiborne's' roster contains valuable information concerning most of the Rangers.[10]

Few veterans mentioned their experiences as spies. Some submitted ambiguous articles to the *Confederate Veteran,* but most never broke their silence. Even Shannon, commander of "Shannon's Scouts," who went into business with John Hood after the war, never commented on his exploits.

An article in *Civil War Times* entitled "With Tears in Their Eyes," edited by Paul Scott, contains portions of a diary written by Private Enoch D. John of Galveston, Texas. In the diary, John reported in vivid detail the activities of the scouts whose job was listed officially as "intelligence gathering." These men gained a reputation for their effectiveness in dealing with Federal stragglers and foragers – exploits cloaked in a conspiracy of silence. Called "Shannon's Scouts," they were under the command of Captain Alexander May Shannon of the 8th Texas Cavalry – Terry's Texas Rangers."[11]

A picture of five of the scouts is included in the article. The men were identified as W.A. Lynch, Felex Grundy Kennedy, and Peter Kenwall or Kendrum. There was a P.L. Kendall listed in Company C., Terry's Texas Rangers.

Emmit Lynch is listed in Claiborne's article. In the Texas Ranger roster, Claiborne reported that J. E. Lynch had been wounded three times while scouting in 1864. He reported in a later article that Emmit Lynch was murdered by his prisoner. Claiborne identified W.A. Lynch as having received two wounds on the same day near Rome, Georgia. F.G. Kennedy was living in Mexia, Texas, in 1880, and Enoch D. Jones died in 1875. It is possible that Emmit Lynch and W.A. Lynch were brothers.

Claiborne's roster also identified Shannon as a first lieutenant, later promoted to captain on October 18, 1862, and then to colonel, commanding special scouts and secret service on February 8, 1865.

Another Texas Ranger and a member of Shannon's scouts, R. L. Dunman of Coleman, Texas, wrote a revealing article in 1923 about his experiences as a scout. Dunman is also listed in Claiborne's roster.[12]

Claiborne was president of the Survivors Association of Terry's Texas Rangers in 1897. The thirtieth reunion of the Rangers was held in Nashville, Tennessee, on June 21, 1897. Claiborne had written several articles for that

convention that were printed in the *Confederate Veteran.*

In a publication written in 1898, Claiborne corrected several articles that had appeared in the *Confederate Veteran* with what he called "erroneous material." He stated, "I was in charge of the secret service during the entire campaign [Nashville] until sent to Florence." After making his corrections, Claiborne urged absolute accuracy in articles sent to the magazine.

According to Claiborne, Hood released him after the Tennessee campaign with letters to Confederate President Davis. He also claimed that Hood recommended him for promotion to brigadier-general. For some unknown reason or miscommunication, he never received the rank. Claiborne then went to North Carolina where General Joe Johnston later surrendered at Bentonville. From there, Claiborne joined President Jefferson Davis and General John C. Breckenridge. At the time Davis was captured near Washington, Georgia, Claiborne was said to be only a few hours ride from him. According to official records, Claiborne was captured near Cedartown, Georgia, on May 15, 1865.

Cedartown, Georgia, was the home of nineteen-year-old Susan Mary Phillips, daughter of Hiram and Vienna Berry Phillips. After his capture and release, Claiborne met Susan, and they were married in Cedartown before December 1865. By December, the Claibornes had returned to Bastrop, Texas, where John served as county clerk from 1865 to 1867.[13] It also appears that Claiborne read for the law during this period.

A bleak future faced the young couple in Texas. One-fourth of the productive white male population was dead, disabled, or dispersed. U.S. occupation troops were sent by the thousands to Texas, and men who appeared in public in remnants of gray uniforms were arrested. For nine years the outside rule produced hatreds, fears, and distrusts which would last for over a century.

Sometime before 1871, the Claibornes moved to the largest settlement in Texas, Galveston, which boasted 14,000 inhabitants in 1870 and was considered the financial capital of the state. It is difficult to ascertain Claiborne's business ventures during this period. Susan Claiborne wrote to her sister, Emily Jane Allen, October 29, 1871, that she soon would be moving into her new home, that her baby was fine, and that John was out of town frequently. The couple's first child, R. Sydney Claiborne, was born before October 1871.

The Claiborne's second known child, Hattie, was born in Galveston in December 1877, and the third known child, Thomas Jack Claiborne, was born in March 1880. Claiborne was listed as a clerk in a store on the United States Census for 1880. Life was not easy for the returning Confederate soldiers. For Claiborne, settling down into the mundane life of husband, father, and work-a-day life was probably difficult. With the help of the Texas State Library in Austin, it is now possible to reconstruct some of Claiborne's activities during the1880s. One of the mysteries was produced by his will, in which he stated how he was ..."despitefully [sic] used by his fellow man ... as I hate

demogody[sic] in State," has been answered by these papers.

Several pieces of correspondence that were found in the annual reports of the Adjutant General's office from 1880 until 1885 provide insight concerning the Texas Volunteer Guard and Claiborne's subsequent verbal battle with Governor John Ireland in 1885. The official correspondence is, unfortunately, often one-sided because many letters are missing.[14]

According to the report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Texas, December 31, 1882, Claiborne was appointed colonel in Galveston on February 4, 1880. It is also known that Claiborne attended a reunion of the Texas Rangers in 1882 and made a roster of the outfit. In the roster, he stated that he was wounded three times, appointed sergeant major in 1852, and made adjutant on December 31, 1864.

The official roster of the Texas Volunteer Guard indicated that Claiborne had been promoted to major general on February 23, 1883.[15] But in 1885 trouble arose when an encampment for all Texas militia units was scheduled to be held in July in Lampasas, Texas.

Claiborne evidently took for granted that he would be in absolute command of the encampment as he has been in contact with city officials of Lampasas. H. B. Rice, an officer of the Houston Savings Bank, informed Claiborne that the citizens of Lampasas had raised sufficient money to support the encampment. He also requested Claiborne's assistance in getting the governor to call for the encampment. Claiborne sent a notice to the governor and subsequently received a reply from W.H. King, Adjutant General, stating that the governor was eager to call for the encampment but that he needed the managers of the enterprise to make the proposition in writing. Evidently, some serious problems developed because Claiborne wrote the governor on June 15, 1885, indicating that he felt that the encampment was an advertising scheme.

It was a personal insult that infuriated Claiborne. He wrote to King that he felt as if he had been insulted because someone else had been appointed to be commandant of the camp. Claiborne concluded, "In this stand upon the matter, and the governor will, I think, sustain me as it is a direct insult to the buttons of my clothes and to the Governor who put me into a Major General's uniform."

One letter followed another from Claiborne to King. Claiborne claimed that he knew that the governor and King would support him in his desire to command the camp, and that he knew who was at the bottom of the insult. Finally, King wrote that the governor would have nothing to do with the encampment other than to permit the military organizations to attend and participate. King continued that no officer of the Volunteer Guard had any authority to interfere and that the control and direction of the affair should be in the hands of local committees. Furthermore, King told Claiborne that it would not be proper nor lawful for him to issue orders of a conflicting character since the governor had declined to issue the order placing him in command of the encampment.

Unfortunately, there is no correspondence that tells what happened, but in Claiborne's report on the encampment at Lampasas, dated July 8, 1885, he stated that he was placed in command of the camp at 3:00 p.m. Monday by the local citizens' committee. Claiborne then wrote a glowing report of the encampment at Camp Ireland in Lampasas. Although Claiborne was in command in the end, the controversy was not over.

The question of Claiborne's position as major general in the Texas Volunteer Guard had been smoldering for some time. It appears that Governor Ireland had suspended Claiborne's commission early in 1885. King informed Claiborne that the militia needed to be reorganized and that the officers should be the choices of the men. "If," King concluded, "you are chosen by the men, I will support that decision."

Whatever happened during the next several months was culminated by an indignant and emotional letter from Claiborne to Governor Ireland, October 15, 1885:

> "To Jno. Ireland, Governor of Texas, Austin
>
> Dear Sir: Referring to your letter in which you stated that my commission as Major General had expired nearly a year ago, I will say that before and since that time you addressed me as Major General and appointed on my staff three different parties as staff officers thus recognizing me as the Major General of Volunteer Guard. A.S. Robert's commission expired when you went into office and under your ideas expired with mine and he is not published in the Senior Brig. Genl - of this I care nothing - I am satisfied to let bad treatment go to be repaid in the same com[?], but I do not desire nor will I permit to have it rubed[sic] in, without an honest protest - I tendered to you my resignation and you avoided with a subterfuge - unworthy of the kindness I had ever shown you - on the position you occupy - and your previous record. Roberts has been appointed at San Antonio the Division Staff invited and every indignity heaped upon me that could be - and I have no remedy - is it right now to make it all right - simply send me an acceptance of my resignation and there you have a right to do as you please - select the Senior Brig. Gen. anyone else - to take command of the V.G. - but you have no right to trample my feelings under foot by these appointments until you do send me an acceptance.
>
> As far as King is concerned, I care nothing as with your term of office - he will disappear and never be heard of outside of his county limits - and I can't afford to go against a wooden man noway - I do not think you have given the matter that attention necessary to see the position your actions places me -
>
> Very Respectfully, Jno. M. Claiborne

The last correspondence concerning the matter, dated October 19, 1885, was from King:

> "General John M. Claiborne, Galveston, Texas
>
> Sir: In response to your highly characteristic letter of the 15th instant, addressed to Governor Ireland, I have the honor to announce that your resignation as Major General of the Texas Volunteer Guard has been accepted to take effect from and after the first day of the present month. I

might comment on the style and tone of your said letter, but deeming it a waste of time, I forbear, with the single statement that the invitation to your former staff officers to attend the Volksfest was conceived in the kindest spirit towards them, without a thought of hurting your feelings in any way.

Truly yours,

W.H. King, Adj. General

From the report of the Adjutant General's office, State of Texas, Austin, September 6, 1886, the following notation was made:

> "For reasons satisfactory to himself, Major General John M. Claiborne resigned his position in the Volunteer Guard last year and the vacancy remained until the twentieth day of November of the present year when Brigadier-General A.S. Roberts was appointed to the place ... Major General Claiborne took great interest in the success of the Volunteer Guard, and while at its head as a division commander he worked with great zeal and earnestness for what he believed would be beneficial and helpful to its excellence and efficiency. His efficient staff lost their official position by his resignation, as the present defective law makes no provision for retaining staff officers when their official chief ceased his connection with the Volunteer Guard."

The article concluded stating that it was decided to reorganize the entire volunteer force.[16]

John Marshall Claiborne never forgave. He carried his anger to his death, as noted in his will.

Between 1887 and 1890, Claiborne again had the chance to express his opinions when he served as state senator from Galveston. During that time, he presented Senate Bill #299 which provided $200,000 to furnish the new capitol in Austin. Several editorials appeared in the Austin *Daily Statesman* opposing the bill. Although the Senate passed the bill, it died in the House, thus ended Claiborne's fight for fame in the Texas legislature.[17]

Between 1887 and 1890, the Claiborne family moved to Rusk, Texas, where he took part in the New Birmingham investment. New Birmingham was an iron-ore venture town, located on the outskirts of Rusk, Texas. Although the venture promised to bring millions to Texas, it lasted only a few years. In 1890, Claiborne was the managing editor of "The leading Newspaper in East Texas," the *New Birmingham Times*. In 1891, New Birmingham was a prosperous community of about 3500 people, with electric lights and an electric railway. In just a few years the area declined from a lack of fuel, limestone, and a severe depression. The last remaining houses were demolished in the 1930s for a new highway.[18]

On January 28, 1900, Susan Mary Phillips Claiborne died at the age of fifty-six and was buried in the first concrete tomb at Cedar Hill. Later that year, John Claiborne and his son, Thomas Jack, served as enumerators for the United States census of 1900 for Cherokee County, Texas.

Claiborne continued to write and make speeches. In September 1900, he delivered a speech that held his listeners "spell-bound" as he recounted the

trials and victories of the times and men of those "dark days of blood and thunder." Claiborne also joined his fellow Confederates as a member of the Ector Camp #51, United Confederate Veterans, Rusk, Texas.[19]

On February 3, 1902, Claiborne married Louella Holbrook, the daughter of John Hiram and Mary Jefferson Holbrook. "Ella" was only thirty-six years old—twenty-seven years younger than her husband – and it appears that the children of his first marriage did not approve.

Shortly after his marriage to Louella, Claiborne wrote his will. He expressed gratitude to his new wife and a request that she receive all his personal property at his death. Claiborne told his wife to give his son, Tom Jack, one of his watches and chain, along with articles that belonged to his mother -if- the "said Tom Jack does not annoy the said Louella."

Of his other children, R. Sidney and Hattie Evans, Claiborne said that they had no claim on any part of his possessions, each having already received and taken more than they are entitled to or deserved.

John Marshall Claiborne died on April 20, 1909, and was buried in the second concrete tomb at Cedar Hill. He left little legacy to Louella: life insurance amounting to $2732.00; household and kitchen furniture valued at $100.00; and a bank deposit of $547.27. The property he had owned in other areas had been sold for taxes. His obituary appeared in the *Daily Courier-Times*, Tyler, Texas, April 24, 1909. It stated that he had died of paralysis. It also noted was that he had been a candidate for Congress in 1896 and a populist nominee for judge of Rusk County in 1900.

Louella never remarried. She lived in Rusk until 1920 when she moved to Dallas. Louella Holbrook Claiborne died at the Women's Confederate Home in Austin, Texas, on April 29, 1946, and was buried in Dallas, Texas.[20] She outlived her husband by thirty-five years. So much time had passed that Claiborne's wish for Louella to be buried by him on that lonely knoll in Cedar Hill had been long forgotten.

NOTES

[1]Will of John Marshall Claiborne, Probate Court, Book J, p. 274-281 Cherokee County, Texas.

[2]Johnson, Sidney Smith, *Texans Who Wore Gray*, pp. 258-259, private publication, 1907.

[3]Davis, Harry Alexander. *The Billingsley Family in America*, pp. 168-171, Washington, D.C., 1936.

[4]Fahrenbach, T.R.; *Lone Star, A History of Texas and the Texans*, p. 518, Wings Books, New York.

[5]*Texans Who Wore Gray*, pp. 258-259.

[6]*Confederate Veteran*, Volume V, January 1897, pp. 252-254, "Terry's Texas Rangers," by John M. Claiborne.

[7]National Archives. Confederate States of America Service Records of John M. Claiborne.

[8]*Confederate Veteran*, January 1897.

[9]*Confederate Veteran*, Volume IX, 1901, p. 31, "Secret Service for Gen. Hood,", by John M. Claiborne.

[10]Roster of Terry's Texas Rangers, compiled by John M. Claiborne; Confederate Research Center, Hillsboro, Texas

[11]*Civil War Times,* January, 1983, "With Tears in Their Eyes," Edited by Paul Scott, pp. 26-29.

[12]*Confederate Veteran,* Volume XXXI, January, 1923, p. 102, "One of Terry's Texas Rangers," by R.I. Dunman, Coleman, Texas.

[13]"Field notes of the corporation of the town of Bastrop," January 2, 1864, signature of John M. Claiborne as clerk, unpublished data; the Bastrop Historical Museum, Bastrop, Texas.

[14]Texas State Library, Austin, Texas, unpublished letters to and from John M. Claiborne, Texas Volunteer Guard, 1880-1885, located in the Adjutant General's office incoming and outgoing correspondence.

[15]Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, 1883.

[16]Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Texas, 1885.

[17]Campbell, Bonnie Ann, "Furnishing the Texas State Capital," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Volume XCII, 1988-89, pp. 324-325.

[18]Souvenir program, New Birmingham, Texas, p. 54 ; East Texas State Archives, Nacogdoches, Texas.

[19]Crawford, Helen, *Saga of Cherokee,* Book I, p. 61.

[20]Cook Funeral Home , Austin, Texas.

JUNIOR FORESTER ON THE SABINE

by Laurence C. Walker

The letter said to report to the Supervisor of the Texas National Forests in Lufkin. I got off the bus in mid-morning late in June 1948, wearing my only suit, a woolen gray, to make a good impression. Directions given at the bus station sent me south on US 59. My heart sank when, soaking wet and toting my suitcase from downtown, I had been directed to the Texas Forest Service. A kindly forester drove me to the west side of the city to the National Forest supervisor's office in an old Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) warehouse on State 103. From there a staff forester drove the new junior forester (JF) to San Augustine where I'd settle in on the Sabine National Forest, one of the four forests that comprised the Texas National Forests, now the National Forests of Texas.

Ranger Ivan J. Nicholas and I were the only professionals for the 180,000-acre Sabine Ranger District, which was synonymous with the National Forest of the same name. Ranger "Nick" served in that capacity from 1946 to 1955. But John E. Johnson, a local experienced man (LEM) who began working for the Forest Service (FS) in the CCC days, was indispensable. Though not a professional forester, he had assistant ranger rank and salary. His father before him rode horseback as a fire patrolman in these woods. And from Johnny and Ranger Nick I learned more forestry than in all of my undergraduate studies. Only then did I begin to learn what the work of a forester and the tasks of the professional are all about. From them I learned much silviculture that could be passed along as a forestry school teacher to the next generation. *Axes, Oxen, and Men,* my history of the Southern Pine Lumber Company, is dedicated to Ranger Nicholas.

The Sabine River, separating Texas from Louisiana, and for which the forest was named, once had been an important artery of commerce. River steamboats carried goods from Beaumont on the Gulf of Mexico to Logansport at the upper end of the Forest. Cotton flowed south, the row cropping of that important agricultural commodity accompanied by the cut-out-and-get-out logging practices being the reason Logansport is no longer a port. Silting of the river and its tributaries occurred quickly and worsened until the Toledo Bend Reservoir was filled with water in 1965-1966.

Silting of the nation's waterways encouraged Congress to pass the Weeks Law in 1911, enabling the federal government to purchase land to protect the navigability of streams. Some mountain forests in the East and in Arkansas were bought for national forests with this authority. Then the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924, an amendment to the Weeks Law, that encouraged the acquisition of cutover land to assure an adequate timber supply for America's future. With this authority, the federal government purchased land for the four national forests in Texas.

Laurence Walker is Lacy Hunt Professor, Emeritus, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas. Condensed from a chapter in *Excelsior: Memoir of a Forester*, Stephen F. Austin State University College of Forestry, 1995.

National Forest maps still show the location of *Camp* Brittain, a family "village" of canvas tents located to the south of Haslam, a company town. At Haslam, W.R. Pickering built in 1913 what was claimed to be the second largest sawmill in the country. When he "cut out" in 1936, Pickering took the cash from his sale of land to the government and moved to California's northern timberlands.

The Sabine was added to the roster of national forests when the government purchased Pickering's holdings and land from several lumber-manufacturing companies in 1935-1936 for approximately $2.80 per acre, property taxes prepaid. Timberland acquired in the Purchase Unit covered parts of Shelby and Sabine counties. Mostly mixed stands of loblolly pine (*Pinus taeda*) and shortleaf pine (*P. echinata*) and perhaps twenty-five commercial upland and bottomland hardwoods and southern bald cypress (*Taxodium distichum*), the Sabine also included stands of longleaf pine (*P. palustris*) at its southern end. The CCC established an extensive plantation on both private industry (by contract) and government lands that included slash pine (*P. caribaea* in that day; now designated *P. elliottii*). One locates on maps this vast Moore Plantation extending from Pineland to Yellowpine. The first planting in the Sabine, perhaps in the Texas National Forests, was trees ferried over the river at Pendleton from a Louisiana nursery. No loblolly pines were available for this project the first year.

The first day on the job, the aforementioned Johnny, fifteen years my senior, attempted, I think, to have some fun by getting the new kid from the inner city in the East and with Yankee forestry schooling lost in a logging operation in a river bottom. Leaving me for a reason unknown, he told me to wait. I assumed he was "going behind a tree." After a couple hours there and day's end approaching, I walked out, probably a good two miles, to his pickup. This neophyte didn't intend to spend the night in that moccasin-infested maze of river-bottom skid-road trails, all of which look alike following a harvest. I had not yet encountered alligators. Somehow, I walked straight for the truck as a bee heads for its hive. An hour later Johnny arrived at his pickup. He never said a word. Was it he who was lost in the woods?

I suppose all rookie JF's were asked to check the nuts and bolts on a fire tower. The 110-foot tall "erector set" model at Dreka had no stairs, just an open, one-foot-wide ladder mounted to the exterior of the galvanized iron tower. Later, wire screen was wrapped around the ladder, but not before an elderly lookout had a heart attack on the job. Lowering him was a scary task.

Working alone, before the days of snake leggings and hard hats, I used the official marking ax to blaze and stamp the butts of hardwood trees for a small timber sale. "US" was molded into the hammer head of the short-handled ax. Hearing a swishing sound, I looked down; there at my knee was the open mouth of a moccasin. Instantly I knew why herpetologists call them cottonmouths: inside the jaw is a pure white ball of cotton-appearing flesh. I don't understand the physics of the next maneuver, but I went straight up, then sideways ten feet before gravity brought me down.

Silvicultural Practices

Ranger Nick always made the district's quota for timber sold and harvested. As I recall, we sold enough stumpage in the 1949-1950 fiscal year to pay for the young national forest. Purchase of these "lands that nobody wanted" has to be one of the best deals the government ever made, and the Southern federal holdings would continue to be good investments if radical environmentalists would allow foresters to manage this renewable natural resource.

After protection from wildfire and timber trespass (theft), our principal effort went toward thinning dense natural second-growth and timber stand improvement (TSI). Pine thinnings went to sawmills and pulping plants. TSI involved marking hardwoods that were of commercial value for hardwood mills that marketed them for bridge timbers, crossties, and other purposes utilizing low-quality stems. TSI also involved applying the herbicides ammate and 2,4,5-T, the former in cups chopped into tree bases and the latter in frills made with axes at waist height.

The Bootlegger's Vehicle

Ranger Nick assigned tasks. Among my first was to check out a hardwood timber sale in the Sabine (meaning cypress) River bottom, a broad flood plain of rich alluvial soil. The vehicle issued me – along with a badge ("Don't wear it where it can be seen"), a passkey, a marking hammer, and a government driver's license – was a 1940 Plymouth sedan. We called the revenuer-confiscated bootlegger's car the Taxi, for you could still see the word under the thin coat of Forest Service green paint. Hidden inside the doors' interior panels were shelves for stashing narrow flasks.

When rain came to the bayous, I called it a day, hiked out to the Taxi, and headed for the ranger station, an office above a grocery store in San Augustine, some fifty miles distant. I soon slid off the ungraded, ungravelled dirt road and into a ditch.

The FS was too poor to own come-alongs or any other equipment useful for dragging a car from a ditch to the "road." I had never driven, even in the Army, on an unpaved road; when pure silt mud's involved, it is an art. I hiked to a peckerwood mill operated by two brothers living in adjacent homes. I learned later I "yoe-hoed" at the house of the wrong brother, awakening him from sleep. One would have graciously helped me; the one I selected growled, "Get the tractor from the shed and bring it back."

I'd never been on a tractor saddle, but I did have a flashlight with which to study the gear chart plate. The tractor and I were on our way. By midnight, I had dragged the Taxi to the ridge of the road and returned the John Deere. Another two-hour's hike back to the bayou's edge would have me on my way to a warm, dry bed. So I thought. Cautiously advancing the old car, it quit after a few hundred feet. The gas gauge read empty. But I had filled the tank that morning! Had I pulled loose a fuel line? Checking with the flashlight answered that question negatively. Ah, here's the problem: the bootlegger's

gas tank had been peppered with buckshot. Apparently soap, which gasoline won't cut, had been used to seal the holes, and the soap dissolved while the car sat in the water-filled ditch.

To Shelbyville I then trudged through the mud, arriving just as Mr. Strong was opening the country store. The kindly shopkeeper filled a five-gallon can with gas, left the merchandise in the care of his wife, and on his tractor we went for the car. Another hour later, filling the tank at Strong's store got me back to San Augustine, by then the fuel gauge again read empty.

The FS quickly located a pickup truck for the city-bred forester to drive. Months later, I learned FS auditors turned hand springs when they received the bill for the gas and refused to pay. The FS contracted with Texaco, while Strong's Store sold Gulf. Solution to this problem involved a federal institution in Kansas that manufactured highest-quality paint brushes. As Leavenworth's products were not on inventory in the ranger district's warehouse, Mr. Strong was happy with the barter exchange.

I still hold the record for spending more days stuck in the mud than any forester ever assigned to the Sabine. Driving through slick silt is an art. A young laborer named Castle inherited the art. While he couldn't read and write and, therefore, couldn't get a driver's license, he could manipulate a pickup through every obstacle. On rainy days, Castle met me at the end of the pavement in Patroon and returned me to solid ground when the day's work was done.

Stealing Posties

Ranger Nick asked we to check out an alleged timber theft in Compartment 22. I began the search at one end of the tract, traversing at ten-chain intervals until hearing the *which* sound of axes hewing a log. The cadence was so perfect it could have been timed by the drummer of a Glenn Miller band. Parting the haw and titi understory brush, I looked upon two large men, their muscular arms the size of my waist. Dressed only in undershorts and with beads of sweat rolling off their shiny black skin, they shaped with precision, using fourteen-pound broad axes, railroad crossties from the post oaks (*Quercus stellata*) of the upland flat. They worked from opposite ends of the log and on opposite sides, slicing with razor-sharp axes to shape the ties, the bark and wood on the same side of the timber as their naked legs.

Unable to whistle and not wanting to spook these fellows, I sang (probably a hymn!) as I approached. We chatted a while; they'd later haul these timbers by horse and wagon all the way to Haslem, at the north end of the forest.

I carried a pad of free-use permits to issue for government trees. The tie-hackers got one that authorized them to cut every "posties" (as both the trees and their products are locally called) on the Sabine district. In other compartments a timber-stand improvement crew busily girdled trees of this species if their presence impeded the growth of pines.

Learning to Plow

Here's where I learned to plow, not with a tractor, but *really* learned to plow. As all the local workers talked daily of the "forty" they'd work that evening, it occurred to me that I should know something of the effort expended in the task. Ah, there's an old black farmer behind a mule in yonder field. I parked the FS pickup and walked to him. Few fences restrained people or pigs in those days. I promptly realized he was scared; the shield on a vehicle meant the law. And when I asked him to teach me to plow, he had greater reason to fear. No one in his right mind would want to learn to plow. The old man was probably born with his hands holding the reins of a harness or the handles of a plow. Still hesitant, I offered him a dollar. Now his conviction was affirmed: no one would pay to plow; you get paid *for* plowing.

Eventually he gave in. I'd go fifty feet and look behind to see how well I'd done. The old man would be bending over, slapping his thighs in a hilarious laugh. Then when I'd look forward the mule would be six furrows over to the left. I'd straighten up the line and, so help me Hannah, I couldn't help it, I'd look back again to see the old man groaning with laughter. And again, that quickly, I'd find myself many furrows to the right.

The plowman earned his dollar, redoing my mischief. And I learned a new Biblical lesson from Luke's gospel that "Anyone who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is in a whole heap of trouble" (paraphrased).

Syrup making on farms within the Forest's purchase unit boundary was a common site in the fall of the year. Folks cut the cane by hand and pressed out the juice with mule power, the animals circling the press a thousand times to squeeze out the last ounce. They cooked the syrup in vats fired with wood; some they hid away to ferment to a "beer."

Public Relations

Ranger Ivan Nicholas had a speech defect which most people attributed, because of his name, to a Russian accent. That meant I did the public relations work, gave the school and civic club talks, and originated a forestry noon-time Wednesday broadcast over KDET in Center soon after Jack Bell, its program director, first opened the mike in February 1949.

I talked over the low-wattage AM Station for fifteen minutes. FM had not come along and KDET was so weak you could hardly pick it up in San Augustine, thirty-five miles to the South.

I began each message, "Friends of the Trees," on one occasion quoting the prophet Joel: "Oh, Lord, to thee will I cry for fire hath devoured the pastures of the wilderness, and the flame hath burned all the trees of the field." Fires were our big problem, some forty recorded on the north end of the Sabine during a two-month period. I pointed out that the $2000 suppression cost could have been used to gravel roads. To gain interest, I mentioned our people by name: Lamar Duncan on Dreka Tower and Albert Jones at Chambers Hill lookout. I noted that Homer Kay ran the Timber Stand Improvement crew which had to be reassigned to the tougher fire suppression

task when Lamar's and Albert's alidades triangulated on a fire. In these homilies, I promoted such things as San Augustine's Forest Festival, put together by the math teacher, Mrs. Harlow Johnson, Johnny's wife.

I would intersperse a little forest history—ghost towns that resulted from cut-out-and-get-out practices, free-market enterprise, something about photosynthesis, and receipts to the counties, in lieu of taxes, from timber sales:

1937 = $ 18
1940 = 300
1948 = 15,000
1949 = 33,000

The economy was picking up.

Timber as a renewable resource, the need for thinning, and how landowners should care for their own woodlands were subjects of these radio visits. That we now had nineteen men employed on TSI crews was deemed an important topic, as was the gravelling of certain roads. Graveled roads, I learned, were paved with clay and a few small stones. FS engineers certified to the volume of stone in the contractor's loads, but I saw no reason for it. They remained slippery mud slides to me.

As these were the days of the Korean War and President Harry S Truman's proclamations on timber production and price controls, I employed patriotic themes. This was important, for Southern pulp and paper plants had run "at full capacity from Victory in Japan day to the present."

Ranger Nick thought I should have a uniform for these PR tasks. I still had a fancy National Park Service belt, shirt, and trousers, but I had sold the smokey bear hat and coat. My kid brother's Marine Corps green blouse would be close enough, provided I could replace the brass buttons with official FS leather nubs. So I wrote the Fecheimer Company in Ohio, the FS supplier who, so tearful of my plight, sent a whole set *gratis*. Wife Anne altered the Marine style to that of the FS and affixed the buttons. (Dear reader: JFs earned $2666 per annum. That came to $100 in each of the twenty-six every-two-weeks pay periods each year The FS didn't provide uniforms.)

Wildfire Problems

We carried badges, but didn't wear them. Nick's predecessor had been shot at; apparently the scare was justified. We were not policemen, but wildland managers, in spite of the Agriculture Department secretary's directive that we report all stills found along our creeks.

Contrariwise, prior to beginning work (cruising, timber stand improvement (TSI), marking timber for a sale) in a compartment, we made the rounds of nearby country stores, talking loudly of where we'd be working as we drank 5¢ soda pop. Local citizens understood: We'd see where the stills had been. We also wouldn't have to fight incendiaries that weekend!

Ranger Nick sized up the fire situation. It wasn't that our people were setting them; but the payroll showed our people were fighting them. They

earned 35¢ an hour fighting fire. Wages for road, bridge, and trail crews, TSI workers, and timber markers amounted to 40¢. A fellow could put in forty hours at 40¢ and earn some extra dollars on weekends at 35¢. The ranger called everyone to a meeting at the Dreka fire tower work center to announce a new rule: When you've worked your forty hours, that's it for the week. If you chase smoke and hoe lines for ten hours on Sunday at 35¢, then your 40¢ an hour work week will end Thursday afternoon. If a Friday night fire or a set on Saturday occurs, Nick said he would bring in crews from the Angelina district. No accusation was made. The men caught on; their "friends" abruptly ceased setting the woods on fire.

After putting out a fire in the night, we got lost trying to find our way out of the woods. One-by-one, the five-man crew in the moonless night slid down a steep bank and into a creek that, according to our compass and recollection, shouldn't have been there. We built a fire, dried out, and awaited dawn.

To save money, I'd take the call by a crude radio from the men in the firetowers who had determined a fire's location by triangulation, and then I'd try to find it. When spotted, I'd return to the truck and, by radio, request the number of fighters required, drafting them from the nearest crew, regardless of its present task. One can wander, even with compass and pacing and maps, an hour or more in dense smoke before finally coming upon the flame.

We all feared an assistant regional forester responsible for fire prevention and control. He'd show up unannounced from Atlanta, inspect fire tool caches placed at various locales and write a report which we got six months later. By then, we couldn't defend ourselves, and he knew it. All across the South, I learned later, he was not well received.

Calling on a family we suspected of burning the woods, I was invited into the shack built of scrap lumber, the ground beneath visible through cracks in the floor. We conversed briefly, but for this I was totally unprepared: A child, still in diapers and not yet able to walk, was sitting on the floor smoking a cigarette. We classified the fire as a "smoker-caused incendiary," attributed to one of the older boys, maybe eight or ten years old.

On another occasion, the crew and I called upon a black man to discuss a fire we had just corralled nearby his place. I suppose it was instinct that caused me to greet him with a handshake. Neither he nor the crew—all white men "because we didn't know how to work blacks" – knew what to make of this violation of a social norm in the woods of Deep East Texas.

Early Prescribed Fire

Ranger Nick carried out one of the South's earliest prescribed fires in the Moore Plantation. Its purpose was to remove hazardous fuel and to improve the range herbage for cattle and wildlife. CCC boys planted the Moore, now a wildlife management area, including in the mix slash pine, the natural range of which does not extend west of the Mississippi River. We intended the fire to run against a south wind. The fire refused to run. About mid-afternoon Nick sent us with our backfire drip torches to a FS road, earlier a tram bed, on the

tract's south boundary, there to set a fire that would run with the wind. It did. It swept clean the soil of herbaceous material, pine straw, and liter until the head and tail fires met! There a brief firestorm occurred, the holocaust consuming everything in about a five-acre area. The controlled burn, apart from this exception, did not injure the planted pines. Fire running with the wind, under prescribed conditions, is a cool fire.

Fifteen years later, searching for sites to show students upon my going to work at Stephen F. Austin State College, after having long forgotten the prescribed burn, I chanced upon charred soil in a large barren zone. To the ranger station I went to learn what had happened here. Out of the compartment file folder fell a piece of rotting, worm-eaten yellow-dog, the cheap newsprint-quality paper on which we hand-wrote memos to the file. I had signed this one in 1948, soon after arriving on the job, calling trees in the one-day field examination *loblolly* pines. But they were slash pine. I think, as I look back, I reasoned well: the Sabine isn't within the natural range of P. caribaea and I had never seen the species. To tally the saplings as loblolly pine was logical. The barren area was the site of the firestorm in 1949 noted above.

Special-Use Permits

Once a year we made the rounds of permittees, those folks who farmed a few acres of industry land since before FS acquisition. Two avoid hassles and to keep friends, we issued special-use permits at minimal or no cost. In approaching a permittee's shack we'd stand back and loudly call out HULLO, lest a vicious dog find your rump tasty, as one did of mine. Finally, someone would appear, see the "gov'ment" shield on the side panel of the pickup, and show fear. Government always meant trouble for these people and, as a Snuffy Smith cartoon of the period illustrated, there was no distinction between the Treasury Department's revenuers and the Agriculture Department's foresters. So Snuffy says to Aunt Louisie as the tree-badged fellow wearing the Smoky Bear hat walks up the trail, "Shoot him. Works for the same outfit, don't he?"

When the HULLO is answered, you learn that no Jake lives there. Then, when told you want to give him a free-use permit so he can continue to plant, chop, and pick his cotton, the resident responds, "Oh, that Jake. He's in the back room." Many of the Jakes legally could have taken possession under squatters' rights laws by fencing and farming the land for seven years.

Schools and churches received special-use permits. We even provided free stumpage for them. They got local peckerwood mills to convert the logs into rough-sawn lumber for the buildings.

Land-Line Controversy

One old-timer and his wife inherited the East Texas mean streak. The controversy involved a line being surveyed that separated their property from that of recently purchased government lands. The objection to the work of the surveyors was so strong that the old man ran off the survey party with a shotgun while the Missus, at an appropriate distance, cradled in her arms what

appeared to be a 30-06 rifle. Even the US marshal, sent in from Beaumont, was greeted uncivily as he stood by the Jacob staff upon which was mounted the forester's compass. As I recall, final settlement of the dispute took place in a federal district courtroom in Beaumont. Old witness trees, cut at the base and carried to the courtroom, convinced the judge that the elderly folks did own the land. FS surveyors were trespassers. But such opinions were not unusual, for jurists and juries in these quarters generally took the side of those opposing the federal government's intrusion into the lives of citizens. They still do.

Ticks

Ticks, those pesky vermin transported by cattle and wildlife, agitated every woodsworker. The eight-legged arachnids come in three sizes: "seed" ticks (larvae) smaller than the head of a straight pin; "yearlings (nymphs)," about an eight of an inch long; and adults, quarter- to a half-inch depending upon how full are the bellies of blood or of eggs. The South's wood ticks (*Dermacentor*) serve as vectors for Rickettsias, close kin to the typhus organism. Most disease is spread in the nymph stage of these "hard" ticks with life cycles spread over two years.

Brushing against tall grass or herbaceous weeds knocks them off their roosts, seemingly by the thousands if they are seed ticks just released from the female adults' belly. The infants fan out quickly to cover your clothes, finding tunnels through garments to one's skin, then digging in for blood. A mulberry branch, the rough texture of its foliage velcro-like, comes in handy for swatting them from clothes. Yearlings do a better job of burrowing into a human's hide, but the fully grown adults, following the last moult, viciously mine for blood. Heat from a match or a lighted cigarette makes them back out. Pulling them out or digging them loose leaves the pincer jaws under the surface of the skin, often resulting in infection. In those days, we didn't have imported fire ants to hold ticks in check (according to some reports) nor deer as their hosts. And the FS didn't provide – if it was then available – repellents.

Ticks must be removed before entering the house. They are destroyed only by being torn apart with the fingernails. Squashing won't do, nor will drowning or discarding. We missed a few, but Lyme's disease had not yet been discovered nor had Rocky Mountain Spotted Fever been diagnosed in East Texas.

Not so bad are the chiggers, the notorious redbugs that burrow under the skin. While an alcohol rub helps soothe the itch, bib overall farmers standing on the town square just scratch wherever it itches. The scene can be hilarious.

I mentioned the lack of deer in the woods. In three years working the Sabine, I never saw a deer. If a sign was seen, a night hunt would soon follow. Locals totally ignored game laws, nor would judges, all elected, preside over a conviction. In East Texas, they said, "We don't harvest game; we harvest game wardens." And it was so. Today, with education, hunting clubs, deer leases, tough laws, and tougher enforcement, white-tails overstock to overbrowse, to their detriment, these woodlands.

I was accepted by the Yale Forest School and the FS at about the same time. Explaining the situation in a letter to Washington: Personnel, I received word to proceed to Texas, take leave without pay in September, and return to the district the next summer. My job, the letter said, would be protected, and it was. Returning from New Haven with a master's degree, I finished out the probationary year and was promoted to assistant district ranger.

As I write, nine professionals and some contractors do the work assigned Ranger Nicholas, John Johnson, and me in the 1940s. And today some 40,000 of the 180,000-acre forest are submerged under Toledo Bend Reservoir.

BOOK NOTES

Included here is the editor's views on these items received for review:

In October 1996 the Association and the Texas Folklore Society, with financial support from the Pineywoods Foundation and Champion International, produced a conference on the Neches River entitled "Shall We Gather At The River." Among the speakers was Blair Pittman, photographer for *National Geographic Magazine*; he even reminded one of Clint Eastwood, although Blair is not as tall. Pittman's *The Stories of I.C. Eason, King of the Dog People* (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203, $24.95) had just appeared and it sold well among those attending the symposium. Pittman became acquainted with Eason early in the 1970s while photographing the lower Neches thicket for NGM; after a period of mutual wariness they became close friends. Pittman learned Eason's river and Eason ventured into Pittman's Houston and functioned there well; the woods and the river framed their friendship. In time Pittman recorded Eason's life experiences and family stories, which are presented here pretty much in Eason's words with an accompanying "album" of Pittman's photos of Eason, his family, and his environment. East Texans will recognize the people in these stories because some of them are you or your family or friends. Good on you Blair; do more books.

The Texas Rangers, the standard book on this subject written by Walter Prescott Webb and published in 1935, has moved to Books on Tape (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, 78713-7819, $18.00). Webb's classic has stood the test of time. Actor-singer Steve Fromholz reads the text, which begins with the organization of the Rangers during the Republic of Texas and continues to the reorganization of the service in 1935. In between, vignettes of Indian fighting, the Mexican-American War, border patrols, and dealing with outlaws up to Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow are presented. Fromholz's voice takes some getting used to, but in the end the worth is in the writing, anyway. Ben Procter's *Just One Riot* and Frederick Wilkin's *The Legend Begins*, volume one of a proposed four-volume rewrite of Webb's work, have added to the history of the Rangers, but it is still good to review the words of the pioneer in the field. Added note: I was privileged to take a seminar from Webb in 1959. When asked about his "sale" of *The Texas Rangers* to movie makers in 1936, he said all they used was the title, and that the fee made the Depression easier to endure!

Kenneth E. Morris, author of *Jimmy Carter: American Moralist* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia 30602) is a sociologist. He has written a book about Carter that is sometimes a biography and sometimes a psychological/sociological examination of the principle subject and sometimes an examination of popular culture. The beginning chapters provide significant data about President Carter's antecedents and early years, but later chapters which deal with his years in the White House focus less on the person than the times. And we hear more about Carter's family that most would want to know. Billy Carter's oft-quoted observation that he was the only sane member of a

family that encompassed a mother in the peace corps, a "holy-roller" faith-healing sister, a motorcycle riding sister, and a brother who thought he would be elected president is included and made creditable by Morris' psychoanalysis of Carter (never could please his father, mother withdrew from the family, etc.) I'm still uncomfortable with psycho-history. Please don't analyze that.

Our friend and benefactor Bob Bowman has expanded his collections of East Texana with *Rub Onions and Skunk Oil On My Chest, And Call Me Well: A Collection of East Texas Home Remedies and Folk Medicines* (Best of East Texas Publishers, 515 South First St., P.O. Box 1647, Lufkin, Texas 75902, $24.50). Bob says he had been collecting such for a while but really received a boost from the response to a newspaper appeal that East Texans share their solutions for preventing or treating health problems. He lists over forty folks who helped him compile several hundred potential health problems and a least a thousand remedies. There is a caveat: despite his personal testimony on the curative powers of axle grease, Bowman still recommends professional medical treatment. A shade older that Bob, I encountered many of these folk remedies growing up in Texas, but many will be a wonderment to you younger folk. The most cited ingredient must be Vaseline. I remember attending a rural funeral about fifty years ago and seeing a grave outlined in empty Vaseline jars, and hearing an older relative say, "That stuff must not have worked." I guess it wouldn't for cancer or a heart attack, but it will ease the slide of anything.

Odie B. Faulk has written *Hill College: An Illustrated History* (Hill College Press, Hillsboro, Texas 76645) to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the institution. Faulk is completing a distinguished career by directing the Hill College Press after teaching at various institutions, most notably Oklahoma State University. He is a prolific and skillful writer, so he brings considerable talent to the narrative and photo selection. The narrative, of course, traces the history of Hill College from founding to fruition as a center of learning, and the illustrations will trigger memories for many teachers and students.

Some politics and journalism: a recent reading in Ed Rollins' *Bare Knuckles And Back Rooms* (Broadway Books, 1540 Broadway, New York 10036 $27.50) and Walter Cronkite's *A Reporter's Life* (ISBN 0-394-57879-1, $26.95), prompts these musings. Rollins is the political consultant who directing the re-election campaign of President Ronald Reagan in 1984, briefly advised presidential candidate Ross Perot in 1992, and directed other campaigns; Cronkite. "the most trusted man in America" in the 1970s when we couldn't trust many others, did some growing up in Houston and attended the University of Texas before becoming a reporter for the *Houston Press*, United Press (also bureau chief in Moscow), and finally anchoring the CBS Evening News for nineteen years. Good reading, and autobiographies, both. Rollins' career will confirm why so many are disillusioned with politics, and Cronkite's will convince you that there are news persons with integrity.

Continuing the political, comes now Dan T. Carter's *From George Wallace To Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1994* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA 70803, $22.95). The first three chapters were delivered as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in 1991, and the fourth chapter advances the examination through the Republican victory in congressional contests in 1994. Carter begins with George Wallace's lost in his first race for the Alabama governorship and his vow never to be outdone on the race issue again; not only did he win the next time, Carter credits Wallace with making many Northerners into Southerners by showing them that the consequences of racial integration would not be borne in the South alone. Having generated a powerful political backlash, observed Carter, presidential candidates Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Congressman Newt Gingrich appropriated the issue from Wallace to wage victorious campaigns. Conclusion from reading these excellent essays on modern American society and politics: race remains a – maybe the – central theme not only of the South but the nation.

Carolyn Barta's *Bill Clements: Texian To His Toenails* (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159, $29.95) is a well-written biography of Governor Clements and also a business history of SEDCO, his international drilling company. Barta was a writer-editor with the *Dallas Morning News* during Clement's tenure as governor and thus a first-person witness to many of his activities in office and afterwards. The Clements she presents is pretty much the one I observed as well. He sought his career in oil, the "bidness" of Texas for the majority of his life, but, as he always pointed out, as a driller, not a producer. Clements was not officially a Republican for quite a while, but he was always conservative – even though he supported LBJ in 1964 over Barry Goldwater. He did support Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, and became the deputy secretary of defense. Barta's coverage of his life often is laudatory, as one would expect, but she also includes the warts: the rubber-chicken tossing in Amarillo during Clements campaign against John Hill for governor; Pongate; and controversial comments about oil spills and the like. She concludes, and I agree, Clement's first administration was among the best in our state's history.

Old Friend Joyce Gibson Roach has produced yet another book, *Wild Rose: A Folk History of a Cross Timbers Settlement, Keller, Texas* (Donning Pub. Co., 184 Business Park Drive, Virginia Beach, VA 23462), an illustrated history of Keller, where Joyce lives and works. An introduction by James Ward Lee is followed by fourteen chapters of text and illustrations, a bibliography, index, and acknowledgments. It is of primary interest, naturally, to the folk of Keller, wherever they may be, but all of us can enjoy the pictures of those days gone by, even if we don't know the people or the places, because so many of us sprang from some place like Keller.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Guide to Hispanic Texas edited by Helen Simons and Cathryn A. Hoyt (Austin: University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78713-7819) 1996. Contents. References. Index. B & W Photos. Maps. P. 347. $19.95. Paperback.

"Hispanic influence permeates almost all aspects of contemporary Texas life. ... So familiar are many of these influences that they are scarcely recognized as Hispanic ... but simply as uniquely Texan" (p. xiii). So begins this guide book, as it proceeds to list historic sites, buildings, markers, cemeteries, parks, festivals, scenic drives, and cultural centers that encompass the rich and varied Hispanic legacy that Texans now call their own.

Originally published in 1992 as part of *Hispanic Texas,* the guide is now a stand-alone publication designed for the general public both as an information piece and a user-friendly travel guide. Well illustrated with historic and contemporary photographs, maps, and other visual materials, the book is divided into seven chapters devoted to specific regions of the state. The regions are planned around a major visitor center, such as Laredo, San Antonio, or Houston, to enable visitors to initiate tours from these major travel centers.

While the editors acknowledge their list of sites and events is not comprehensive, they make a welcomed attempt to overcome the "gap" between officially-designated sites and the "culture of the common folk" (p. xiv). The gap is bridged by highlighting community churches, festivals, and public art that reflect contemporary Hispanic culture. Recognition is also given to little-known Hispanic Texans, including Don Pedrito Jaramillo, a popular faith healer, and Dionicio Rodriguez and Máximo Cortez, expert craftsmen of intricate *faux bois* constructions in San Antonio parks.

If there are any drawbacks to this fine publication it is that the reader is left wishing for more visual material – maps in greater detail and the addition of color photographs. Still, the guide fulfills its intended purpose. It enlightens readers about the Hispanic roots of our state and inspires them to discover the cultural treasures that resulted from that legacy.

Mario L. Sánchez
Texas Historical Commission

Water in the Hispanic Southwest: A Social and Legal History, 1550-1850, Michael C. Meyer (The University of Arizona Press, 1230 N. Park Ave, Suite 102, Tucson, AZ 85719-4140) 1966. Contents. Afterword. Bibliography. Index. $26.95. P. 209. Illustrations. Paperback.

What was water's role in the historical development of Southwestern civilization from 1550 to 1850? In solving this historical problem, Meyer focused on Spanish colonial and Mexican water law.

The principal topics are water, culture, and tradition, water and the settle-

ment of the northern New Spanish colonies – including Texas, New Mexico, and California, water and social conflict, and the social, economic, and military impact of water. Water was a major reason for the clash of Indian-Spanish culture and a factor that determined Spanish settlements. Land disputes had their roots in water rights as Spanish and Indians competed for the scarce, life-sustaining liquid. Changing civilization included different land patterns, irrigation, and the conflict of agricultural versus industrial use of water as an instrument of power. Reduction of Indian water supplies sometimes caused violence, and when not Spanish needs usually prevailed in the judicial system.

Surveying the sources of water law, Meyer noted that the law dominated all functions of Spanish government. Land-water relationships were complex and sometimes vague. Water rights were determined on the basis of land classifications, yet could be added to a land grant. Meyer identified the criteria for adjudication of water disputes in the complex Spanish legal system.

Meyer added an afterword to this previously published book. This chapter concerns the obligations of water law that the United States assumed when it ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. For this reason, the water laws of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produce more law suits than have recent water laws.

Water in the Hispanic Southwest is a must reading for lawyers and legal historians. This survey ably demonstrates that "the availability or scarcity of water determined man-land relationships, conditioned patterns of human adaptation, helped define sexual and clan roles within certain groups, molded the nature of ethnic interactions and even bequeathed a special kind of value system" (p. 164).

Irvin M. May Jr.
Blinn College-Bryan

Imaginary Kingdom: Texas as Seen by the Rivera and Rubí Military Expeditions, 1727 and 1767, edited and with an introduction by Jack Jackson, with annotations by William C. Foster (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Richardson Hall, Austin, TX 78712-9820) 1995. Contents. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. P. 272. $29.95. Cloth.

Historians interested in Spanish-Texas history have been blessed over the past decade by the research of such scholars as Donald Chipman, Jim Corbin, Jack Jackson, William Foster, and Robert Weddle. One of 1995's treasures of scholarship is Jackson and Foster's *Imaginary Kingdom,* the translations and annotations of the inspection tours made by Pedro de Rivera in 1724-1728 and the Marqués de Rubí in 1766-1768. The Imaginary Kingdom that they were investigating was Rubi's term of reference to the Kingdom of the Tejas and the other northern provinces of New Spain, which from the earliest Spanish entradas existed in a state of political ambivalence.

Problems had existed from the beginnings of the Texas occupation, mainly

because settlement was done as a negative reaction against the French across the Sabine rather than as a serious attempt at permanent colonizing. Consequently, the *presidios* and missions became focuses of financial and spiritual corruption and a drain on the resources of New Spain. Additionally, the *presidios* offered only meager defenses against any attacker, and the missions were doing a poor job of Christianizing and colonizing the Caddo Indians.

Recognizing these colonial problems, the king sent Rivera in 1728 to visit the frontier and see what could be done to improve the situation. Three-and-a-half years and 8000 miles later, Rivera returned and recommended the closing of four *presidios*, the limiting of eight more, and a reduction of soldiers' pay, a drastic move for those involved on the Texas frontier.

Even with Rivera's recommended retrenchments, the success of the northern provinces was still in doubt in 1766 when the Marqués de Rubí was sent on another inspection of the northern provinces. His recommendation was the withdrawal of all northern missions and *presidios* in Spain's "imaginary kingdoms" and the establishment of a realistic northern boundary protected by a string of presidios stretching across the Southwest from La Bahia through San Antonio and Santa Fe to the Gulf of California. This led to the abandonment of the Province of Texas. Rubí was accompanied by cartographers whose maps and drawings, included in this book, are the best visual records of the Spanish frontier at that time.

Both of these royal inspectors wrote invaluable diaries and official recommendations for action, which are the body of *Imaginary Kingdom.* This is the first English translation of Rivera's diary and the very first publication of Rubi's diary. These diaries, along with the inspectors' recommendations, are the heart of primary information for eighteenth-century Spanish studies.

In addition to the matchless primary sources of Rivera and Rubí, *Imaginary Kingdom* contains definitive historical backgrounds, final assessments, and explanatory footnotes of both expeditions by William C. Foster. Foster adds much dimension to the diaries, particularly in explaining geographical and sociological settings for the events described and daily progress and adventures of the expedition. Excellent route maps by J. V. Cotter precede each section.

This reader was impressed with and educated by *Imaginary Kingdom* and strongly recommends the book for any Texas historian.

F.E. Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Personal Correspondence of Sam Houston, Vol. 1, 1839-1845, edited by Madge Thornall Roberts (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856)1996. Contents. Bibliography. Appendix. Index. P. 390. $32.50. Hardcover.

The Personal Correspondence of Sam Houston contains 151 previously unpublished letters written to and by Sam and Margaret Lea Houston and

drawn principally from the Franklin Williams Collection. The letters begin during their courtship and extend through the annexation of Texas to the United States. They offer insight into the Houston's marriage and a view of life in the Republic of Texas and the *antebellum* South.

The text is divided into seven sections, each covering either a period of extended absence or a period of frequent travel by one or both Houstons. Editor Madge Thornall Roberts provides an ongoing commentary to explain these separations and footnotes that identify, as far as possible, names, places, or events mentioned in the correspondence. However, her placement of the footnotes – following each letter – is somewhat awkward, since the reader must find the end of the letter (not always easy) to locate the information needed in the course of reading. A unified footnote group either at the end of a section or at the end of the book would ease the problem in future volumes. But this is a minor complaint. Particularly welcome is Roberts' inclusion of several maps showing the geographic areas involved and the routes traveled. Gaps in the text cited as "torn" or "blurred" might be explained by Houston's note to Margaret: "... I had the extreme felicity of receiving your letters about three hours since, and I have *only* perused them each *twice*. I am in the habit of carrying your letters in a breast pocket of my hunting shirt by way of reference. The use of them I fear will have a tendency to destroy the delectable manuscript and disappoint the novelist in a specimen of very pretty epistolary correspondences" (p.138-9).

The first in a projected four-volume series, *The Personal Correspondence of Sam Houston*, Vol. 1, 1839-1845 renders a valuable service by preserving a heretofore inaccessible body of Houston documents. The publication does call attention to the need for a new, complete edition of Houston writings since the eight-volume Amelia Williams – Eugene C. Barker edition of *The Writings of Sam Houston* lacks a coherent chronological organization and is no longer readily available.

Jean Carefoot
Texas State Library and Archives

Lorenzo de Zavala: The Pragmatic Idealist, by Margaret Swett Henson (Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth, Texas: 1996). B&W Photos. Bibliographic Essay. Photo Credits. P. 146. Hardcover. $?.

Margaret Swett Henson, the grande dame of Texas historians and history writing, has written *Lorenzo de Zavala: The Pragmatic Idealist*, the story of Lorenzo de Zavala and his dynamic role in the tumultuous insurrections in Mexico and Texas covering a span of more than two decades. She reminds the reader just how important Zavala was in Texas history: Mexican revolutionary against Spain and later Santa Anna, both in Mexico and Texas; legislator; governor of the State of Mexico; minister to France; and the interim vice-president of the breakaway Republic of Texas. In examining Zavala's life and times, Henson opens the little-used window overlooking the arena of intra-national associations

and links that existed between the northern-most province and its citizens to the remainder of the body politic and federal government of Mexico.

Henson's writing style normally flows smoothly, and is easy to follow for laymen and academics interested in the man and his times. I am undecided, however, whether *Zavala* is history. I cannot check the footnotes because she does not provide them. She does record her primary sources in a bibliographic essay at the end of the work, "so that," in her words, "in lieu of footnotes, readers can match the sources used for each section." This style of source-provision, although acceptable in certain disciplines other than history, obfuscates the opportunity for an effective interchange of critical opinion, which is the very rationale, in my belief, for original research and interpretation.

Henson's chronicle of Zavala and the Texican-Mexican political relationships of the 1820s and 1830s develops fertile ground in the mostly ignored international terrain of the Texas Revolution. However long the length or firmness of Henson's stride here is unimportant. What is important is that she has moved forward in Zavala, opening avenues of inquiry well worth the time to explore.

Melvin C. Johnson
Salt Lake City, Utah

The March to Monterrey, edited by Lawrence R. Clayton and Joseph E. Chance (Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79668-0633) 1996. Contents. Notes. Illustrations. Bibliography. P. 119. $12.50. Paperback.

On April 28, 1846, Brevet Second Lieutenant Rankin E. Dilworth of the First Regiment of Infantry left Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, to join elements of the U.S. Army poised for action along the Rio Grande. Less than six months later, the young lieutenant fell mortally wounded while leading his company in the attack on Monterrey. Dilworth's brief diary not only describes the daily duties of a junior officer during his tenure with the "Army of Occupation" but also provides insight into the cultural values and impressions of a young man whose life ended with tragedy in the United States' first foreign war.

Capably edited by Lawrence R. Clayton and Joseph E. Chance, the work's brevity (sixty-eight pages of Dilworth's own words) makes the lack of an index an understandable omission. The diary is extensively footnoted, although these informative notations are sometimes confusing: a "Dana" is referred to in note 7, pg. 79, though "Lt. Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana" is not referred to until note 16, pg. 81, with his service record finally provided in note 59, pg. 90. These inconveniences aside, the editors are to be commended for making a privately-owned Mexican War diary (itself a rare commodity) available to the general and scholarly public.

Robert P. Wettemann, Jr.
Texas A&M University

This Band of Heroes: Granbury's Texas Brigade, C.S.A., James M. McCaffrey (Texas A & M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1996. Maps. B & W Photos. Bibliography. Endnotes. Index. P. 262. $16.95. Paperback.

Granbury's Brigade of Texas Confederate troops consisted of the following regiments: Sixth Texas Infantry; Seventh Texas Infantry; Tenth Texas Infantry; Fifteenth Texas Cavalry; Seventeenth Texas Cavalry; Eighteenth Texas Cavalry; Twenty-fourth Texas Cavalry; Twenty-fifth Texas Cavalry; Richardson's Company of Independent Texas Cavalry; and Alf Johnson's Company of Independent Texas Cavalry. The various units from all over Texas had the usual adjustments to military life and were given orders to converge on Arkansas after a short period of drill. The Cavalry was dismounted soon after reaching Arkansas.

Most of the Brigade was involved in the controversial surrender at Arkansas Post and many Texans died that winter in Northern prisons. When they were exchanged the following spring they were sent to the Army of Tennessee. Hiram B. Granbury quickly rose to command the whole brigade. Granbury was killed in the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee, but the Brigade retained his name for the rest of the war and after. This was a fitting tribute to an outstanding officer.

The appendixes add to the value of the book. Appendix A deals with the flags used by the Brigade, Appendix B discusses the weapons of the unit, and Appendix C is a feature that elevates the book above the commonplace: it is a roster of all the Texas units in the Brigade. This could be very valuable to anyone researching an individual who served in the Brigade.

Wallace Davison
Lufkin, Texas

Comanche Barrier: To South Plains Settlement, Rupert Norval Richardson, Editor Kenneth R. Jacobs (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1996. Illustrations. B&W Photos. Bibliography. Notes. P.264. $24.95. Hardcover.

A.C. Greene called the venerated Rupert Richardson's *Comanche Barrier* a classic, as it is and as he so enshrined it on his list of the fifty best Texas books. This reprint of the first edition in 1933 rescues 11,000 of 13,000 words – thanks to editor Jacobs – which had been deleted from the original manuscript in a bow to the rigors of the Great Depression.

One can wish for an exemption from the similar rigors of the calendar. Working almost simultaneously with Richardson, Captain Bill Nye, a regular army artillery man, was writing his "Carbine and Lance" while stationed at Fort Sill His book, published in 1937, was based on extensive interviews with Comanche tribal elders, many with family ties to the "barrier," who then were still living on the nearby reservation in southwestern Oklahoma. My copy of

Nye, a revised second edition, is a first reprinting in a long series of such and a relic of World War II service at Fort Sill, where the book store still stocks copies.

Could the calendar have been suspended, both Richardson and Nye would have benefited from cross fertilization. Long memories will recall that the future Mrs. Fred Harris, wife of the U.S. Senator-to-be from Oklahoma, spoke only Comanche on the reservation until she entered public schools at the age of twelve.

Older by fours years than Nye's, Richardson's classic still is the best and most coherent study of the mores of perhaps the world's outstanding irregular cavalry, which fought, however brutally, for tribal range and the life of its family members. Eakin is to commended for making a new edition available to the general reader, thereby ventilating some of the fusty atmosphere which seems to surround any work described as "classic."

Along with a general readership, West Texans, especially, should welcome this reprint.

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth

Sand, Will James (Mountain Press Publishing Company, P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806) 1996. Reprint. Illustrations. P. 364. $16.00. Paperback.

This book is the third reprint of Will James' twenty-four works published in the 1920s and 1930s. The Tumbleweed Series intends to republish all of them. Most of James' stories are about real cowboys, horses, and particular critters he personally encountered. *Sand,* however, is a fictional story, although James alludes to resembling one of the characters woven into the plot.

Our hero in this tale is a young man of wealthy parents who is good at drinking and party going and not much else. Being summoned by his father to meet him in Chicago, the boy's friends placed him on a train in Seattle and sent him off. The train stopped in the middle of the night somewhere in the Great Plains and the half-stoned young man got off to stretch his legs. He stumbled over to a section shack, which he mistook for some station, sat down against the wall, and went to sleep. When he awoke he was alone in the middle of nowhere, so he began hiking cross-country. He finally stumbled into a cow-camp where he was adopted by the cowboys and given chores to pay for his keep.

From this point the story is pure range romance. The novice decides this is the life for him and sets out to become a useful hard-working cowboy. He is smitten by a neighboring ranchers' daughter and accepts the challenge of capturing and taming a notorious wild black stallion that no one has been able to trap. It takes James 300 pages for the youth to capture both. In the end the rehabilitated, confident cowboy buys a huge spread with daddy's money just for the stallion and eleven brood mares to run free.

The story has a Horatio Alger theme that hard work and virtuous living

pays rewards. This book is recommended for young people, especially and for anyone who likes a good old-fashioned western story.

Robert W. Glover
Shiloh Ranch

Surviving on the Texas Frontier, Sarah Harkey Hall with Introduction by Paula Mitchell Marks (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1996. Contents. Introduction. Illustrations. P. 131. $19.95. Hardcover.

"I look back over my life and think of the frights I had. I wonder at me having any mind at all" (p.37). In just a few words Sarah Harkey Hall, born in San Saba County in 1857, summed up the frontier experience of many Texas settlers late in the nineteenth-century. Every day was a challenge for survival. Food, shelter from the weather, and clothes were just a few of the necessities which her family often did without as they tried to build a homestead near the San Saba River in San Saba County. Raids by Indians were constant fears. And overcoming the grief of the death of loved ones caused by disease, child birth, shoot-outs, and the many perils of frontier life tested the strength of endurance of each individual.

In *Surviving on the Texas Frontier* Sarah Harkey Hall has left a legacy of descriptive imagery of life on the Texas frontier. Each recollection has painted a landscape of one family's struggle to overcome both human and natural obstacles while the portraits of the land and the people have created vivid pictures of a stark existence.

Janet Schmelzer
Tarleton State University

Reflections in Dark Glass, Bruce McGinnis. (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856) 1966. Contents. P. 180. $24.95. Hardcover.

The life of Wes Hardin, Texas' most celebrated desperado, is now presented through the reminiscences of fictitious individuals. Jim Stephens - a combination of several Hardin relatives and McGinnis' imagination - recalls youthful anechdotes when they were traveling companions. Hardin's "second mother" and one time slave, Julie Ola Faye, also recalls Hardin's violent life but devotes much time to reliving her sexual experiences as a younger woman.

The subtitle is *The Life and Times of John Wesley Hardin* but the book focuses on the tragic events surrounding Hardin's twenty-first birthday when he shot and killed Brown County Deputy Sheriff Charles Webb. Hardin was sentenced to twenty-five years in the penitentiary for this killing. McGinnis weaves incidents from Hardin's autobiography together with his own version of Reconstruction problems for an interesting narrative, but the sexual imaginings of Julie Ola Faye are repetitive and overshadow much of the action involving Hardin.

The images of Comanche town burning as a metaphor for hell and hard-riding preacher Hardin leading an angelic host to save his son are too obvious. Greater emphasis on Hardin's life and less obtrusive sexual imagery would have strengthened this "life and times" of a real Texas folk hero.

Chuck Parsons
Yorktown, Texas

The New Crusades, The New Holy Land, David T. Morgan (The University of Alabama Press, P.O. Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0380) 1996. Contents. Epilogue. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 246. $24.95. Paperback.

Going for the Jugular, Walter B. Shurden and Randy Shepley (Mercer University Press, 6316 Peake Rd., Macon, GA 31210-3960) 1996. Contents. Conclusion. P. 282. $35.00. Hardcover.

Here are two books treating the decade plus struggle of the Southern Baptist Convention which are well read in tandem. Those familiar with this story generally agree that 1979 marked the beginning of the turning over of the lake for Southern Baptists, a process which virtually found completion by 1990. Either the convention experienced a major course correction or suffered a violent take-over by forces who had no appreciation of its genius. Morgan tells the story and Shurden and Shepley provide source documents for the reader who wishes for insight and information.

Walter Shurden, a church history professor at Mercer University, refers to David Morgan's book in his "For Further Reading" list, calling it "the best place to begin in understanding the background and general developments of the controversy."

The story, in brief, is this: certain individuals felt the SBC was becoming too liberal and would soon lose its place as the leading Protestant denomination in the United States if this liberal trend were not corrected. They discovered that the president of the convention had great power in his ability to appoint the committee that controlled the whole nominating and electing process of the convention. Those nominated became the members of boards of trust who then controlled the educational institutions, the mission boards, the publishing house ... and ultimately the world. In 1979 they elected their candidate president and then each of his successors. The right people were put on committees, their nominees filled the boards, their boards reorganized the institutions, and the SBC moved to a more conservative posture.

The question, of course, begging answer is: is the world better off for this change? Both books give enough perspective to allow the reader his or her own conclusions.

Morgan starts the story ten years earlier and thus gives us helpful background material. He brings out parts of the story not generally known even by SBC insiders and helps us see the heart and soul of people on both sides of the conflict. Texas readers will recognize names of leading pastors on both sides

and will find much of interest in the struggles over the leadership of Baylor University in Waco and Southwestern Seminary in Fort Worth.

Walter Shurden enlisted the help of graduate student Randy Shepley to archive for us key documents from the fray. *Going for the Jugular,* subtitled *A Documentary History of the SBC Holy War,* is a compilation of sermons and news stories which lay clear the mood of the two camps. Interspersed are cogent assessments and descriptive summaries. Shurden concludes that the Southern Baptist Convention has become fundamentalized, centralized, chauvinized, sectarianized, and debaptistified.

This writer has never before had the task of reviewing two history books which so closely chronicled his own life. Personal acquaintance with many of the people and "being there" for many of the events may cloud my judgment. Nevertheless I recommend the reading of both books.

Jerry M. Self
Nashville, Tennessee

An Illustrated History of Denton County, Texas, E. Dale Odom (E. Dale Odom, 420 Headlee Lane, Denton, TX 76201) 1996. Acknowledgements. Contents. Index. Pictures. P. 128. $28.50. Hardcover.

An Illustrated History of Denton County, by Professor E. Dale Odom, retired University of North Texas history professor and life-long resident of the county, covers the history of Denton County from its frontier years as part of the Peters Colony through the years when it was one of the premier wheat producing counties in Texas and wheat and cotton dominated the economy, to the last third of the twentieth century, when its geographic position relative to Dallas and Fort Worth led to major demographic changes which profoundly affected the economy and politics of the county. The history presented here is a brief one which outlines and interprets trends and patterns rather than provides a detailed description of events. It is a balanced and reasonable explanation of how Denton County has changed over the years. An essay on sources at the end provides the reader with information about works which offer more detail on aspects of the county's history.

There are brief special sections throughout the book which provide information on a few of the more interesting individuals, institutions, and aspects of life in the county. The sepia-toned illustrations and their captions, provided with the assistance of LaVerne Masten Odom, Odom's wife, are exceptionally well done. If you want a good, balanced overview of the county's past, this book will provide it. If you are looking for some specific historic detail about an institution or biographical information about someone from the county's past, there is a good chance you will not find it here.

Cecil Harper
North Harris College

My Remembers, Eddie Stimpson, Jr. ("Sarge") (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856) 1996. Foreword. Appendix A & B. Index. P. 167. $18.95. Hardcover.

This extraordinary book was written by Stimpson for his family. "I thought my grand and grate grand kids might read a history book some day," he states, "and would like to no what happen and how we made it through the thirties" (p. 149). The son of a hard-working but poor African American sharecropper, Stimpson was raised on a Collin County farm north of Plano, Texas.

My Remembers, which employs folk spelling and speech, is comprised of the author's recollections and observations. In recalling his childhood, he paints a vivid picture of African American life during the lean years of the Great Depression. Stimpson describes such activities as worshipping, eating, fishing and hunting, gambling, hog killing, and, of course, cotton picking. Although times were difficult for the Stimpson family, he remembers the period as "some of the best day of my growing up years" (p. 150). Religion, love, and will sustained the Stimpsons through the bleak Depression days. "We made it," he declares, "by the help of God and strong famley ties. Tough time never last, but tough people all way do" (p. 100).

Stimpson has produced a touching account of his boyhood. *My Remembers,* full of wisdom and insight, sadness and humor, is a wonderful book.

S. Kirk Bane
Arkansas Tech University

Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas, 1528-1995, Second Edition, Alwyn Barr (The University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, OK 73019) 1996. Index. Illustrations. Bibliographical Essay. P. 294. $15.95. Paper.

For twenty-five years Alwyn Barr's *Black Texans* has been the standard survey, and still is, of the African American experience in the Lone Star State. Although this second edition has some cosmetic changes, it is basically the same as the original edition. There are three significant differences between the older and the newer work. First, in his preface, Barr has included a list of some of the more influential works that have appeared in the past two decades relating to black Texans. Second, he has added a chapter which surveys the history of African Americans in Texas through 1995. Finally, he has marshaled new bibliographical material which he relied upon for his final essay.

It must be remembered that this is a second edition. If one is looking for wholesale revision they will not find it in this university press publication. In fact, much of the monograph remains essentially the same as the first edition, particularly the text. The additional information which discusses the more recent secondary literature, and indeed the new chapter, is certainly useful but a complete overhaul of the bibliographical section for each chapter would have been most instructive. A plethora of material has appeared over the past two

decades (in fact writings about Texas African Americans are published continuously) and Barr easily could have added new citations for every chapter.

This type of effort may have been impossible, considering publishing costs these days, but it would have been valuable. To be applauded is the fact that *Black Texans* is now in paperback, which should gain it a larger audience. Since it is the only book that attempts a narrative and interpretative history of blacks in Texas, it deserves wide distribution. Probably everyone who knows something about this field will have quibbles about what Barr could or could not have done in this second edition. Those perceptions, however, should not distract from the fact that here is a relatively short, readable, interesting, and learned account of how African Americans participated in the making of Texas.

Barry A. Crouch
Gallaudet University

Texas on Stamps, Jon L. Allen (TCU Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1996. Bibliography. Index. B&W Stamp Reproductions. P. 1128. $14.95. Paperback.

In *Texas on Stamps,* Jon L. Allen uses postage stamps to illustrate engaging little lessons in the history and popular culture of Texas. For instance, a 2½" x 3" blow-up of a Zaire-issue stamp of George Foreman is accompanied by a 200-word sketch of the boxer's life, career, charity work, and sense of humor.

This collection of more than 160 stamps is divided into three sections: history and events; Texans; and Lone Star locales. Philatelists beware: this book contains no information about the featured stamps. But Texana buffs can rejoice. The black-and-white reproductions (some also in color on the book's cover) are crisp. The occasionally stunning artwork – look for the minimalist Cabeza de Vaca from Spain, the poignant Mickey Leland from Nigeria, and the cinematic Overland Express from the U.S. – can make intriguing overheads for the classroom. The subjects are suggestively eclectic, including Mothers Against Drunk Driving, hot air balloons, Sam Houston, and Valentine's Day. A suitable book for the high school student or the guest room.

Stephen Curley
Texas A&M University at Galveston

A John Graves Reader, John Graves (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1996. Preface. P. 339. $15.95. Paperback.

This anthology presents the Complete John Graves: not in the sense that it contains all the writer's work (a matter of multiple volumes) but in the sense that it presents the full scope of his writing. Those familiar with Graves from *Goodbye to a River* or *Hard Scrabble* will find here a much broader, more problematic writer. This new perception derives from several factors. For one, several of the pieces published here, including brief sections from a novel (*The*

Speckled Horse) set in Spain, have never before been published. They will also find pieces, many also set in Spanish-speaking locales, published in obscure journals. All of the pieces have been at least marginally rewritten.

Any writer describing young American males learning the ropes in Latin America or Spain takes the risk of sounding a bit (or a lot) like Pappa Hemmingway, even if no imitation is intended and even if it is scrupulously avoided. Graves' work inevitably resonates, therefore, with that vast amorphous fabric tilted American Expatriate Literature. But there is a moral to these remarks. Surely it is the breadth of Graves' experience, the depth of his background, which gives his writings about Texas such vividness and proportion. A contrast is understood, and exploited. Those know not Texas who only Texas know.

It is hard to imagine a finer distillation of a life's work than this. Anyone interested in Southwestern literature in general or in John Graves in particular will want to own this book.

Pete A. Y. Gunter
University of North Texas

Through Time and the Valley, John Erickson (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856) 1995. Acknowledgments. Preface. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. P. 230. $24.95. B&W Photos. Hardcover.

John Graves set the standard for books such as Erickson's in *Goodbye to a River* which uses the literary device of the journey, ancient as story-telling itself, and the author pays his respects to Graves' work. The Canadian was not as well known as the Brazos, until now. Located in Panhandle County, the river flows through Hutchinson, Roberts, and Hemphill counties where the author and a friend made a 140-mile trip not in a canoe but a horseback, and like Graves, Erickson allowed the river and the valley to dictate the story.

At times Erickson startles, but he uses words stark and simple as: "On September 15, (1929), John Holmes spent the day putting the finishing touches on fourteen liquor cases he intended to prosecute in federal district court. That evening he was murdered in his front yard by an assassin whose identity remains a mystery to this day." Or in describing Billy Dixon's reaction to his wife's grief when the baby died: "He wasn't afraid of death. He could face down death without fear, but the grief of a woman ... that was something all his years on the plains had not prepared him for."

Erickson uses the grassroots history approach – books, newspaper clippings, folk tales, articles, personal stories – but he also enploys the techniques of a fiction writer, using dialogue stained with tobacco or dripping with sweat. He swings back and forth from the past to the present, alluding to history but keeping us close to the river by returning to the people whose lives are embedded in the land which is also his own. He moves us with the painfully plain beauty of both folks and place and the lean and thirsty language of both.

The book was first published in 1978 by Shoal Creek Press. Time and place live again in the words of one of the most powerful and lyrical voices of the Southwest.

Joyce Roach
Keller, Texas

Circling Back, Joe C. Truett (The University of Iowa Press, 100 Kuhl House, Iowa City, IA 52242-1000) 1996. Foreword. Bibliography. P. 213. $13.95 Papercover. $24.95 Cloth.

Sometimes a writer is able to combine his scholarly expertise with relevant personal reminiscences and observations. The result is an absorbing blend for the reader, both entertaining and edifying. *Circling Back* by Joe C. Truett is an example of this pleasing literary stew.

Subtitled "A Chronicle of a Texas River Valley," *Circling Back* briefly follows a band of pleistocene mammoth hunters into the Angelina River Valley of eastern Texas. The lifetime of the ice-age hunter spans the decline of plentiful large animals to the beginnings of agriculture. The author treats with equally interesting narrative his personal boyhood memories of planting, harvesting, and eating corn on his "Granddaddy's" farm in the Angelina country in the 1940s and the evolution of corn-based culture in ancient North America. He weaves memories of his childhood trips through the woods with descriptions of the pre-World War II natural history of the Angelina River valley.

A special feature of Truett's book is the use of vividly remembered episodes of a Tom Sawyer boyhood on Granddaddy Corbett's farm as a backdrop and metaphor for understanding the explorers, claimers, and exploiters whose activities resulted in the pleasures and plights we find in the Angelina country today. Spear Thrower, when confronted by a mountain of quivering mammoth flesh lying on the ground before him, had a gleam in his eye similar to that in the eye of John Henry Kirby watching a ponderous long-leaf pine trunk crashing through the woods on the cable of a steam jenny. Parallels are drawn skillfully between the tiny events of a country boyhood and the larger effects of settlers, lumber barons, industrialists, and commercializers: "His woods have lost their mysteries, he makes his living selling trees."

I finished *Circling Back* not only pleasantly entertained by the author's narrative description of a place and time but also edified by his attitude and insight into the effects of change coming over that place and time.

C. P. Barton
Stephen F. Austin State University

Tickling Catfish, Jerry Craven (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1996. Contents. Illustrations. P. 147. $14.95. Paperback.

Reading *Tickling Catfish* is like sampling the banana pudding at Sweet Sue's Cafe in Tyler: one bowlful is just enough to send you scurrying back to the buffet table for another.

Tickling Catfish is a look at all sorts of culture from Amarillo to Borneo. Most of Craven's ninety-seven essays have a slight splash of weirdness, like "Loogies Abounding," a review of spitting for good (and bad) luck or the art of tilting over a cow. The title comes from Southeast Texas, where the bayou boys entertain themselves by diving into a stream, feeling around the bottoms for catfish, and tickling them on their belly. "Then," as one tickler explained, "you snatch that sucker out of the bayou, and you got a fine meal to cook up."

Most of the essays are based in Texas, but a few have their origins in South American and Asia, where Craven also lived. Craven started writing the essays as a column in the Canyon inset of the *Amarillo Daily News.*

Craven vows that all of the essays in the book are true. "If they are not," he added, "they should be."

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas

My Years with Bob Wills, Al Sticklin (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, Tx 78709) 1996. 3rd Revised Edition. Prologue. Epilogue. P. 129. B&W Photos. $16.95. Paperback.

Bob Wills, born in central Texas in 1905, is known as the originator of Western Swing music. But a more descriptive name for his eclectic mix of big-band swing, Southwestern country "honky tonk," Black blues, and ragtime, would be *Country* Swing. Wills began his musical career in Fort Worth playing with the Light Crust Doughboys, but his career blossomed during the latter 1930s and early 1940s when the Playboys were centered in Tulsa. At its peak the band had fifteen members, not counting Wills, and included several horn players. The most succinct and perhaps most significant thing to be said about Wills and the Texas Playboys is that they played music for folks, mostly country folks, to dance.

Al Stricklin was born in southern Johnson County, Texas, in 1908, and played piano for the Playboys from 1935 to 1941. He was inspired to write this book after he attended a highly publicized reunion of the Texas Playboys in September 1971. The book was first published in 1976, the year after the death of Bob Wills, and just as the original publication followed closely the death of Wills, this edition appeared shortly after the death of Stricklin.

The book is pleasant to read but simple sentences finally get a bit tiresome. An occasional compound sentence would improve the style. Stricklin

also idolizes Bob Wills so much that it may annoy the reader. Finally, Wills and the other Playboys remain entirely too one-dimensional. Nevertheless, collectors of Wills memorabilia and students of country music history should acquire the book.

Dale Odom
University of North Texas

Excelsior: Memoir of a Forester, Laurence C. Walker (College of Forestry, Stephen F. Austin State University, P.O. Box 6109, Nacogdoches, TX 75962) 1995. Index. Appendixes. P.490. $30.00 +S&H. Hardcover.

This is a very personal reminiscence and memoir of Laurence C.Walker, the first dean of the School of Forestry, Stephen F. Austin State University, and Lacy Hunt Professor, Emeritus.

Walker begins his story with his admission to Penn State University's Forest Academy at Mont Alto, Pennsylvania, in 1942, and comments on his pranks, professors, and texts. He reflects briefly on his early life in the nation's capitol, his school, play (very little), and work as a printer's devil. His great love was the Boy Scouts, which he credits with having a decisive influence on him. He spent summers at the Boy Scout's Camp Wilson near Silver Springs, Maryland, located conveniently at the end of the Georgia Avenue Streetcar line. He became an Eagle Scout, and thought there was a natural progression from scouting to forestry. He also attributes the National Park Service, its rangers, and the Shenandoah National Park in particular to the direction he took in life.

In 1940, at the age of sixteen, Walker joined the National Guard, but when his unit was called to active duty in January 1941, he was honorably discharged to complete his education. Called to active duty in 1943, he spent time at Camp Walker in East Texas, Washington and Jefferson College in Pennsylvania, and Camp Claiborne, Louisiana (in Kisatchie National Forest), before being shipped to England. His unit crossed the channel and joined the war at Rouen, France, crossed the Rhine and moved along the Rhine to Munich, being among the first Americans to liberate the Dachau concentration camp. He was wounded in the final days of the war, rejoined his unit, and served briefly with the army of occupation before returning to the U.S.

Walker bummed around the country briefly before returning to school at Penn State under the GI Bill. He discusses the school, faculty, courses, and texts. After graduation he took the Civil Service Exam and became a junior forester in the Sabine National Forest, one of two professionals in a 180,000-acre ranger district that comprised the entire forest. Several chapters are devoted to life in East Texas, San Augustine, Shelbyville, the CCC, ticks, redbugs, and the forests and wildlife of "deep East Texas."

Walker completed a one-year advanced program at the Yale School of Forestry, then transferred to Syracuse University where he received (under GI Bill funding) the Ph.D. in 1953. He took a job as a research forester at Escam-

bia National Forest in Alabama, then moved to the University of Georgia School of Forestry in Athens. He accepted a position at Stephen F. Austin State University in 1963, and retired after having helped accredit, organize, and administer as the first dean the School of Forestry. Much of the book subsequently offers capsule tidbits about people, places, and events associated with Walker's career. He became an ordained minister in later days, traveled extensively throughout the world, and retired in 1988. The title of the book, "Excelsior" he takes as his motto – striving for the greater good.

There is some interesting information in the book but it is sometimes difficult to extract because the narrative is so personalized. To understand Laurence Walker's life and career is to a considerable extent to understand the life and times of those Americans who grew up during the Great Depression, served in World War II, obtained an education that might otherwise have been unavailable without the GI Bill, and then crafted the post-war world most of us live in today. While people such as Walker were exceptional, being exceptional in those times seems to have been the norm. While Walker's comments on forests and forestry are informative and interesting, the value of the book may be that it is a commentary on the life and times of a special generation of Americans. The book is less a biography or a treatise on forestry. It is more a memoir and personal commentary on life. The book will hold the greatest interest to those who have been acquainted with Laurence Walker, to the students and faculty at Stephen F. Austin State University, and to foresters.

Henry C. Dethloff
Texas A&M University

Generations and Other True Stories, Bryan Woolley, Introduction by John Nichols (Texas Western Press, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0633) 1995. Introduction. P. 295. $25.00. Hardcover.

Bryan Woolley writes feature stories for the *Dallas Morning News*, though not often enough to suit his many fans, including this writer. This latest collection of his stories is a must-buy for anyone who values strong writing and storytelling.

In "Generations," Woolley introduces us to a fascinating group of Texans, both famous and unknown. His subjects include Kinky Friedman, who fronted a band called The Texas Jewboys in the 1970s and now writes mystery novels, and Robert James Waller, author of "The Bridges of Madison County" and transplanted resident of Alpine, in Big Bend country.

The title piece opens the collection. Woolley recounts going back to meet the father he hadn't seen since his parents divorced more than thirty years earlier. When he finally finds him, Woolley can't get up the nerve to tell him he's his son. He simply asks directions as if he was lost, and then leaves. Later, he writes his father a brief letter telling him who he was, but his father never writes back.

Woolley writes simply and concisely. You won't find flowery language

laden with adjectives and fifty-cent words. What you will find is a writer who knows his territory and how to tell a story. This latest collection confirms what long-time readers of the *Morning News* have known for years: Bryan Woolley is one of the best feature writers around.

Gary Borders
The Nacogdoches Daily Sentinel

Best Editorial Cartoons of the Yedar: 1996 Edition, edited by Charles Brooks (Pelican Publishing Company, P.O. Box 3110, Gretna, LA 70054) 1996. Contents. Index. P. 207. $14.95. Paperback.

Art reflects life, whether in painting and portraiture, in printed prose and poetic meter, in the theatre, or on film, using both human portrayals and the graphic technology of special effects.

The political cartoon uniquely encapsulates the dynamics of modern life. In highlighting our unfolding personal and political lives, the artist is a keen observer, incisively characterizing our evolution as anation. The phrase: "A picture is worth a thousand words!" was made for the political cartoonist.

These little graphic vignettes can be whimsical, thoughtful, stunning, breathtaking, aggravating, insulting, poignant, and profound, lifting up in stark relief aspects of our public life that are often submerged, while they are happening, in the swirling complexity of events.

Charles Brooks has selected over 400 cartoons, penned by 185 artists in the United States and Canada, as the cream of the crop for 1996. Four hundred twenty-one cartoons are arranged in twenty categories, preceded by a brief introduction by the editor. Some cartoons encompass several public events. Brooks includes from one to six examples for each cartoonist.

The emotions evoked by the original events in these cartoons spring back, as we look at Charles Brooks' latest edition of "The Way We Were." These annuals by Charles Brooks are now as welcome, as anticipated, as the flowers in May. Keep 'em coming

James G. Dickson
Stephen F. Austin State University

LeTourneau University's First Fifty Years, Kenneth R. Durham (The Donning Company, 184 Business Park Drive, Suite 106, Virginia Beach, VA 23462) 1995. B&W Photographs. Index. P. 159. Hardback. $?.

This profusely illustrated work chronicles the evolution of LeTourneau from its origins as a trade school for returning GI's after World War II to its present status as a private university stressing studies in technical and business programs. Founded by R.G. LeTourneau, highly successful inventor and manufacturer of earth-moving equipment, the institution was controlled and subsidized by him and his family for its first forty years. Yet, even when

circumstances in the family and on the campus led control to pass to the Board of Regents in 1986, the two fundamental characteristics R.G. and the family had maintained from the first remained in place. LeTourneau was and is an institution whose every facet reflects the conservative evangelical Christian faith of its founder and his belief that simultaneous work experience and study are the keys to effective education.

Written by a senior faculty member under the sponsorship of the university, the book is largely an uncritical administrative history, although there are also three chapters on student life. Durham does not ignore critical junctures in the school's history, but he provides little insight into their causes and resolutions. As a result, the book will be of little interest to those who have no personal connection to the institution.

James V. Reese
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Great Texas Banking Crash: An Insiders Account, Joseph M. Grant (University of Texas Press, Austin, Box 7819, Austin, Tx. 78713-7819) 1996. Illustrations. Index. Acknowledgments. P. 315. Hardcover. $29.95.

Written by Joseph M. Grant, president and CEO of Texas American Bankshares (TAB) from 1986 to 1989, this "personal account" details the events of the Texas banking crisis of the 1980s. During that decade, nine of the ten largest bank holding companies in Texas failed, "drastically and permanently" changing the "financial landscape" of the state. Moreover, only fifty (17.9 percent) of the state's 279 savings and loan associations in 1987 survived the crash.

In his analysis, Grant identifies the principal contributing factors that "propelled Texas into [an] economic free-fall. . .unprecedented in the history of Texas or of any other state or region" in the nation. The first and most significant factor was the catastrophic decline in the price of oil from $30.00 per barrel in December 1985 to $9.75 in April 1986, catching lending institutions unprepared for the decline in repayments of loans by major clients.

A second and closely related factor was the "real estate bust" brought about by overbuilding and overevaluation and by the deregulation of the savings-and-loan industry. The severity of the collapse was enhanced by the "reckless, irresponsible, and, in many cases, fraudulent" actions of management of post-deregulation savings institutions. Thus, by 1989 approximately eighty percent of all "thrift associations" in Texas were believed to be insolvent.

The Tax Reform Act of in 1986 also played a key role in the crash. That legislation discouraged investors from putting money into real estate activities by not permitting them to deduct losses involved in such transactions. According to Grant, that law was the "final blow" for many banks and savings institutions.

Throughout his analysis, Grant emphasizes the devastating part played by federal and state regulators in the financial disaster of the 1980s, among them the Federal Depositors Insurance Corporation (FDIC), Federal Savings and Loan Association Corporation (FSLIC), Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC), Federal Reserve System, Federal Home Loan Bank (FHLB), and the Texas Department of Banking. All those agencies contributed, but the FDIC's hard-line policies and decisions in dealing with Texas institutions left the state "without adequate banking services." Grant concludes that the FDICs' record was "no better than that of bankers and directors of the insolvent banks."

Much valuable insight can be gained into the contemporary financial scene in Texas from this account and into the operation of its lending institutions; but to understand fully what it reveals, readers will need a working knowledge of banking practices and terminology.

Joe E. Ericson
Stephen F. Austin State University

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